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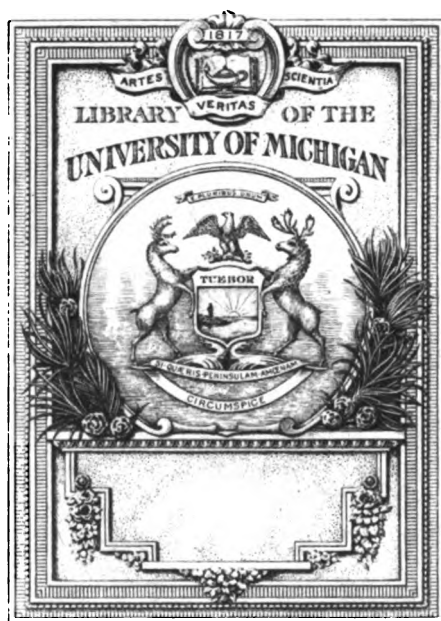
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# *Journal of Presbyterian history*

Presbyterian Historical Society, Historical Foundation of  
the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches

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General  
Schwab

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*From an original Painting*

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## Presbyterian Historical Society

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### JOHN CALVIN AND THE PSALMODY OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES:

BEING THE FIRST OF THE LECTURES UPON "THE PSALMODY  
OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES," DELIVERED ON THE L. P.  
STONE FOUNDATION, AT PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL  
SEMINARY, IN FEBRUARY, 1907.

BY LOUIS F. BENSON, D. D.

#### I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The subject of these lectures is the origin and development of congregational song in the Reformed or Calvinistic branch of the Protestant Churches. We are to study a peculiar type of Protestant Church Song:—which was introduced into public worship at Geneva in connection with the Calvinistic Reformation; which spread, along with the Calvinistic doctrines, into France, the Netherlands and other continental countries; which became, under Genevan influence, the characteristic song of the Reformed Churches of Scotland and England; and which finally was carried across the ocean by immigrants from these various European countries, and took its place as a part of the cultus of American churches, whether Episcopal, Congregational or Presbyterian.

The type of Church Song with which we have to deal consisted in the singing by the congregation itself of metrical

versions of the songs of Scripture, preferably "the Psalms of David." It is therefore conveniently designated as Metrical Psalmody. We need, however, to understand the precise force and significance of both the words composing this designation. There was, of course, no actual novelty in making the singing of Psalms a part of church worship. The practice had obtained from the beginning, having passed into the Christian Church from the Jewish. In the Daily Office of the Latin Church, as contained in the *Breviary*, the Psalter had always held the place of honor. Provision was made in the *Breviary* for the orderly rendering of all the Psalms in the course of each week. But the Psalms were not in the language of the people, the Latin prose version being exclusively used; and they were set to the Gregorian Chant, which could only be rendered by trained officiants. In such a Psalmody the people could take no part, and in actual life they were hardly even in contact with it. The rendering of the Daily Office was practically confined to the choirs of monastic establishments. In the parishes it was accounted sufficient that the priest should recite the Office as his daily meed of private devotion. As over against this historic "Psalmody" of the pre-Reformation Church, the distinction of the Calvinistic Psalmody lay in its congregational character. The Psalms were rendered into the vernacular that the people might understand them, and they were put into metrical form so that they might be set to simple melodies which the people could sing. To mark this distinction the Calvinistic type is designated as *Metrical Psalmody*.

But the metrical form into which the Calvinistic Psalmody was thus cast was not peculiar to itself. Metrical hymns in the vernacular had been composed by Ambrose and given to the people at Milan before the end of the fourth century. Gradually and not without opposition the Metrical Hymn established itself as a fixed element of the Daily Office throughout all Europe, and a great number of such hymns found place in the Breviaries. But in the course of this process the language of the Hymns, as of the Psalms, had

become an unintelligible tongue, and the rendition of the Hymnody, along with the Psalmody, was largely relegated to the monasteries. The Hussite movement in Bohemia in the fifteenth century was marked by a great revival of the composition and use of metrical vernacular hymns, the introduction of the congregational Hymn-Tune and of the popular Hymnal. Following this, and partly based upon it, came the great outburst of popular song in connection with the Lutheran Reformation, in which almost every type of the metrical hymn was made familiar. As over against this Hymnody, whether of the Latin Church or the Hussites or Lutherans, the distinction of the Calvinistic Psalmody lay not in its form but in its authorship and subject-matter. The Hymn was a religious lyric freely composed within the limits of liturgical propriety by anyone who had the gift. The Calvinistic Psalm, on the other hand, was simply the Word of God, translated and versified in hymn-form, so as to be sung by the people. To mark this distinction of the Calvinistic type of Church-Song, it is designated as *Metrical Psalmody*. When the purpose is merely to distinguish the two types of congregational song within the bounds of Protestantism, it will be sufficient to designate the singing of metrical Psalms in the Reformed Churches as Psalmody, as over against the freer Hymnody of Lutheran and other bodies.

The subject presents itself to us as a historic movement having unity and completeness within its own limits. The congregational Psalmody of the Calvinistic Reformation was, of course, an incident of the general movement to establish vernacular worship. Behind the Hussite and Lutheran Hymnody and the Calvinistic Psalmody lay the common motives of arousing and deepening the religious feelings of the people, of teaching them evangelical truth and of giving them the means of expressing their own devotions. But with the Calvinistic Reformation congregational song entered upon a new phase, and made a new beginning. In this, Church usage and Lutheran precedent alike were disregarded. The Scriptures were searched to find Apostolic authority on which to rest the ordinance of praise, and conformity to

Scripture became the determining motive. To this supreme test the subject-matter of the songs themselves had to be submitted; and a literal adherence to the very words of Scripture songs, even though of the old dispensation, came to be preferred to any setting forth of gospel facts or truths in words of merely human composition. A system of Psalmody so conceived and ordered was obviously much more than a mere extension of the Lutheran Hymnody; and through all its history, the Psalmody of the Reformed Churches constituted a distinct type of Church Song.

And even less than was the case in the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, did the movement to establish Psalmody in the Reformed Church find any beginnings of popular religious song on which it could build. The movement had no element of spontaneity. It was not even a popular movement, but the conception of one man's mind and the enterprise of one man's will. It was a carefully planned element of that liturgical programme which Calvin prepared to express his ideals of worship, and it was the element of that programme for which he found least sympathy among his colleagues and least preparation among the people.

Least of all did the work of Calvin's great predecessor, Zwingli, afford any foundations upon which congregational Psalmody could be established. It will be remembered that the Reformation in the French-speaking cantons of Switzerland, which began at Geneva, formed the second period of the Swiss Reformation. The earlier period had been confined to the German-speaking cantons, beginning with Zurich. It was Zwingli whose mind dominated this earlier period; which, whether independent of Luther's influence or not, was characterized by marked divergences from the Lutheran model. The ecclesiastical tastes and veneration for tradition which led Luther to conserve the altar and mass, and as much as possible of the Church ritual, his desire to consecrate music and the other arts to divine service, were wanting in Zwingli, or if there at all, were sternly repressed. The stripping from the Zurich churches of their altars and images and decorations, and the covering their frescoes with

whitewash, was not actually done by Zwingli. He thought it done prematurely; but the results nevertheless accorded with his mind. The churches became plain auditoriums, and in this they corresponded with Zwingli's conception of the normal attitude of the worshiper as that of an auditor of the Word and prayer. The essential in worship was the inward receptivity and response of faith to the spoken Word. Everything else Zwingli included under "ceremonies." "The Holy Supper," he says, "is itself a ceremony—though one instituted by Christ himself—which is sufficient:"<sup>1</sup> but it should have as few accompanying ceremonies and as little church pomp as possible. The extent to which he was prepared to "yield to human weakness" in the matter of ceremonies appears from his *Order of Administration for the Lord's Supper*, 1525. It includes some responses, and also the Creed, the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the CXIIIth Psalm, all arranged to be recited antiphonally by the minister, men and women of the congregation.<sup>2</sup>

In this service, and in all Zwingli's liturgical programme, music had no place. His position as regards music is to be determined both by what he did and by what he refrained from doing. With church music as he found it—that of choir and organ—he dealt summarily. As early as 1525 he abolished the singing by the choir, and on December 9, 1527, he ordered the organ of the Great Minster broken up, directing similar action in the churches of the city and canton. Bullinger justifies this action with a reference to St. Paul's objection to strange tongues without interpretation and things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp (I Cor. 14:6-9).<sup>3</sup> This doubtless was Zwingli's own explanation of his course. In reality it furnishes a motive for abolishing the unintelligible Latin in which the choir sang, but not

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to "Order of Administration for the Lord's Supper," 1525. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. iii. Tr. *Mercersburg Review*, vol. ix, pp. 594 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The men and women were on opposite sides of the main aisle.

<sup>3</sup> Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, Frauenfeld, 1838-40, vol. i, p. 418; and see Gieseler, *Text Bk. of Church History* (N. Y. ed.), vol. iv, p. 548.



for abolishing the choir itself. Zwingli must have been actuated by additional motives. He must have felt that there was no office for the choir to fill in the Reformed Church; or else that it was as a matter of fact so inevitably associated with a ceremonial type of worship that expediency demanded its abolition.

We have also to consider that Zwingli refrained from any steps toward substituting congregational singing for the forms of music thus abolished: a fact less easy of explanation in view of his personal fondness for music and proficiency in it, and his own composition of religious songs which he caused to be set to music. That Zwingli did not share Luther's deep sense of the indispensable functions of congregational song, is obvious enough. The question is rather whether Zwingli deliberately contemplated the permanent establishment in the Reformed Church of the anomaly of a religion without music. His competent biographer, Christoffel, answers confidently in the negative. His explanation is that Zwingli did not introduce music, solely from want of time, in the pressure of affairs, to select fitting hymns, and arrange divine worship for it in a manner consistent with his own views.<sup>4</sup> The explanation is somewhat disingenuous. In other parts of German Switzerland, at the same date, available materials for congregational song were found at hand. Moreover Zwingli did find time to arrange worship according to his views, and in so doing, as has been seen, he omitted music. His views as to music in worship may fairly be gathered from his introduction to the *Order for the Lord's Supper*, and they can hardly be interpreted as implying more than the toleration of congregational song. Singing, to Zwingli's mind, is a ceremony. His words are: "It has not been our design to set aside for other congregations any such ceremonies as have perhaps been promotive of devotion among them, such as singing and some others of the same nature."<sup>5</sup> Here, then, we appear

<sup>4</sup> Christoffel, *Huldreich Zwingli*, Elberfeld, 1857. Tr. by Cochran, Edinburgh, 1858: p. 150, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Mercersburg Review*, vol. ix, p. 595.

to have the answer to our question. The matter of congregational song had not been postponed by Zwingli for a fuller opportunity, but carefully considered and disposed of. It was a ceremony, and one he declined to introduce at Zurich, but recognizing it as "perhaps promotive of devotion," he had no intention of prohibiting it elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

So far as Zwingli's influence extended, his attitude in the matter proved practically prohibitive. At Zurich itself the Reformed worship continued without music for seventy years. As the Reformation spread through German-speaking Switzerland, the influence of Luther was more felt and that of Zwingli less. And where congregational singing was introduced before Calvin's time it may be safely said that the impulse came from Lutheranism and that the song was of the Lutheran type.

We have thus before us the historical background against which the work of Calvin is to be set, and we have now to consider the beginnings of the Reformed Psalmody at Geneva.

## II. THE SITUATION AT GENEVA AND CALVIN'S PROPOSALS.

The movement to evangelize the French-speaking parts of Switzerland was undertaken by the powerful German-speaking canton of Bern. Having considerable dependencies in the French-speaking territory, Bern naturally wished them

<sup>6</sup> Zwingli's later biographers appear to go beyond the above statement of his position. Mörkofer reluctantly admits that he shared the opinion of the Anabaptist faction that singing had no rightful place in public worship, and that the singing enjoined in the New Testament was the silent melody of the heart and not vocal and audible praise. (J. C. Mörkofer, *Ulrich Zwingli*, Leipzig, 1867-69, vol. ii, p. 93.) Stæhelin thinks that several causes may have contributed to exclude congregational song at Zurich, but that the decisive cause was neither Anabaptist opinion nor consideration for Anabaptists' feelings, but Zwingli's distrust of fixed forms of devotion and his judgment that devotion was not furthered by singing but by prayerful consideration of God's Word. (R. Stæhelin, *Huldreich Zwingli, Sein Leben und Wirken*, Basel, 1895-97, vol. ii, pp. 60, 61.)

to follow its lead in adopting the Reformed faith, and sent to them a band of zealous missionaries, of whom William Farel was the chief. In this way the beginnings of reform in French-speaking Switzerland bore the impress of the Zwinglian type that characterized the movement at Bern, and which Bern itself in its turn had received from Zurich.

When Calvin came to Geneva, in July, 1536, the Reformation was already acknowledged there. Under Farel's leadership, the mass had been discontinued, all holy days except Sunday abolished, the altars and images, and even the baptismal fonts, removed from the churches. But the work of constructing a Reformed Church on the ground thus cleared for it had hardly begun. In Calvin's own words:<sup>7</sup>

"On my first arrival in this city, the gospel was indeed preached, but things were in the greatest disorder. It was as though Christianity consisted in nothing more than the overturning of images."

Farel was keenly conscious of the situation, and recognized in Calvin the constructive gifts which he himself lacked; and when he had persuaded Calvin to remain at Geneva, the virtual leadership passed at once into Calvin's hands.

Farel had not, however, come to Geneva quite unprepared in the matter of setting up Reformed worship in the French language. He had published at Neuchâtel in 1533 his *La maniere et fasson quon tient en baillant le saint baptesme . . . es lieux que Dieu de sa grace a visités*.<sup>8</sup> This was the Order of Worship which Farel introduced at Geneva.<sup>9</sup> The principal Sunday service consisted of a general prayer closing with the Lord's Prayer, and followed by the sermon.

<sup>7</sup> Calvin's Farewell Address to the Ministers of Geneva. Th: Beza, *Vita Calvini*: in *Ioannis Calvini Opera*, ed. Baum et al., 1863 seq., vol. xxi, col. 167. Cf. *Opera*, vol. ix, 891.

<sup>8</sup> Reprinted by J. W. Baum, Strasburg, 1859. For full title in facsimile see Emile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin: les hommes et les choses de son temps*. Paris, 1899 seq., vol. ii, 154.

<sup>9</sup> A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française, etc.* Geneva and Paris, 1866 seq., vol. iv, p. 191, note.

After the sermon came the commandments, confession of sins, the Lord's Prayer again, the Apostles' Creed, with a final prayer and benediction. In this Order the most striking feature is the entire absence of church song. This reflected the usage of Zurich and of Bern, but it does not necessarily imply any personal objection on Farel's part to congregational singing. His Order of Worship was nothing more than a diffuse rendering into French of the Order already established at Bern.<sup>10</sup> Its introduction at Geneva involves no more than Farel's compliance<sup>11</sup> to that extent with the well-known desire of the Council of Bern to impress its own usages upon all the cantons.<sup>12</sup>

Coincident with the publication at Neuchâtel, in 1533, of Farel's *Manière et façon*, which was the first Order of Reformed worship in French, there was a movement to provide the French-speaking Swiss with Protestant songs. In the same year and from the same Neuchâtel presses appeared two song-tracts; the one entitled *Chansons nouvelles démonstrants plusieurs erreurs et faulsetés*, containing five songs, the other containing nineteen, entitled, *Belles et bonnes chansons que les chrestiens peuvent chanter en grande affection de cuer*.<sup>13</sup> These were followed by a tract of twenty-four songs, entitled simply *Noelz nouveaulx*.<sup>14</sup> There is hardly room to doubt that the same influences were behind the songs and the Order of Worship, and that both alike emanated from Farel and his circle. These songs may not have been introduced into the stated public prayers and

<sup>10</sup> In a letter undated, but before May, 1837, Calvin wrote to Gaspard Megander, a minister at Bern: "We have compared your little liturgical directory (*libellum tuum cæremonialem*), translated by Merelet at our request, with our own, and we discover no difference except that it is more concise." *Opera*, vol. xb, 87.

<sup>11</sup> See Doumergue, *op cit.*, vol. ii, p. 498.

<sup>12</sup> See Herminjard, *op cit.*, vol. ii, p. 130.

<sup>13</sup> Doumergue, *op cit.*, vol. ii, p. 506.

<sup>14</sup> F. Bovet, *Histoire du Psautier des Eglises Réformées*, Neuchâtel, 1872, p. 322, (but cf. Doumergue, *ut supra*). For specimens of these early songs, see O. Douen, *Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*, Paris, 1878, 1879, vol. i, pp. 274-277.

preaching at Neuchâtel, but taken in connection with what followed they strengthen the impression that the mind of Farel was predisposed to follow Calvin's leadership rather than Zwingli's in the matter of Church Song.

As to Calvin's own mind we are more fully informed. He had no sympathy with the suppression of congregational praise, whether at Bern or at Geneva. He had already formed that project of introducing congregational singing into the public services which was to become his most distinctive contribution to Reformed worship.

The position Calvin was to take was clearly foreshadowed in the first edition of his *Institutio*, published before coming to Geneva.<sup>15</sup> The third chapter dealt with Prayer. He gives equal recognition to two types of public prayer, the one in which the words are spoken, the other in which they are sung. Neither type has any value unless it proceed from the deep affection of the heart. But, on the other hand, neither is to be condemned so long as it follows the affection of the mind and is subservient to it.<sup>16</sup>

After a few months' observation of the Genevan situation Calvin drew up certain *Articuli de regimine ecclesiae*, setting forth the things most essential to a rightly ordered church. These *Articles* were presented to the "Small Council" by Farel, and, with its approval, came before the "Council of the Two Hundred" on January 16, 1537. This document has the special interest of revealing the reforms Calvin had most at heart. It constitutes also the fundamental documentary source for the history of Psalmody in the Reformed Churches.

The earlier part of the *Articles* deals with the Holy Supper of our Lord and with the establishment of such discipline as should safeguard its purity. The *Articles* then proceed:

"The other part concerns the psalms, which we desire to be sung in the church, after the example of the ancient Church, and according to St. Paul's testimony, who said that it was a good thing to sing in

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<sup>15</sup> Basle, March, 1536.

<sup>16</sup> *Opera*, vol. i, 88.

the assembly with mouth and heart. We cannot conceive the improvement and edification which will come from this until after we have tried it. In our present practice, certainly, the prayers of the faithful are so cold as to reflect much discredit and confusion. The psalms would move us to lift up our hearts to God, and excite us to fervor in invoking him and in exalting by our praises the glory of his name. By this means, moreover, men would discover of what benefit and what consolation the pope and his partisans have deprived the Church, in that they have appropriated the psalms, which ought to be true spiritual songs, to be mumbled between them without any understanding of them." "

Calvin had thought out the most practicable method of proceeding toward an end so desirable. The succeeding paragraph of the *Articles* suggested that a beginning should be made with the children. They were to be trained in some sober ecclesiastical song, and were to sing it loudly and distinctly while the people listened, following it in their hearts, until little by little they should grow accustomed to sing together as a congregation.

The entire unpreparedness of the people thus becomes evident, and we are made to feel how radical, then and there, the simple proposal to sing Psalms really was.

The "Council of the Two Hundred" expressed a general approval of the *Articles*, but it is unlikely that Calvin was allowed to proceed in his Psalmody project. His influence was being undermined by Caroli's charges of heresy, and his own views and methods rapidly produced discontent and strife, and brought him into strained relations with both the people and the government.

Moreover the institution of Psalm singing at Geneva would involve, as has been said, a definite departure from the Bernese model of Reformed worship; and for that the time was unfavorable. Bern, which had aided Geneva to gain her independence, was anxious to bring the city within the scope of her own authority, and as a step to closer political union, sought to bring the Genevan church into closer conformity. While Calvin wished to develop the worship of the Genevan church on its own lines, the Council of Bern and a

" *Opera*, vol. xa, 12.

large party of sympathizers within Geneva urgently pressed the importance of uniformity of worship in both churches. The issue was framed in a demand of Bern that Geneva should join with all the French-speaking cantons in conforming to certain liturgical usages which prevailed at Bern, but which the somewhat more radical reformation by Farel at Geneva had rejected.<sup>18</sup>

In the end the Council of Geneva resolved (March 11, 1538) to introduce the usages of Bern into the Genevan church. The step was taken without even consulting Calvin or Farel, and left them in a difficult position. To accept the liturgical usages imposed by the Council involved their assent to the proposition that the Church had no voice in the regulation of its own ritual, but must accept it from the hands of the civil authorities. For this the reformers were not ready, and their refusal to conform immediately was made the occasion of banishing both from Geneva (April 23, 1538), whose people found the yoke of their strict discipline intolerable, and welcomed an opportunity to rid themselves of the disciplinarians.

Calvin and Farel appealed their case to the Synod which met at Zurich on April 29, 1538, and presented a paper drawn up by Calvin, under fourteen heads, of the terms upon which they were willing to return to Geneva.<sup>19</sup> In the matter of ecclesiastical discipline they were not prepared to yield very much. But the matter of the liturgical usages of Bern was more indifferent. The use of the font in baptism, the use of unleavened bread and the observance of festival days might be conceded, but on two points they stood firm: First, that the Holy Supper should be administered more frequently; second, that the singing of Psalms should be made a part of public worship.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The usages in question were, the use of fonts, placed at the entrance of churches, in baptism; the use of unleavened bread in the Holy Supper; and the observance annually of four festival days. Herminjard, vol. iv, p. 413.

<sup>19</sup> *Opera*, vol. xb, 190-192.

<sup>20</sup> "Alterum ut ad publicas orationes psalmorum cantio adhibeatur."

The second of these provisos in such a connection is surely noteworthy. We have to remember that liturgical uniformity had only just been attained; that Psalm-singing had so far no precedent in French-speaking churches; and that the way for making it practicable had not been cleared, the materials for employing it were not at hand. It excites a certain surprise that Calvin should refer to his project at all under such circumstances of personal humiliation. But that at such a crisis in church affairs he should make the inauguration of Psalmody the *sine qua non* of his return to Geneva and the resumption of his work of upbuilding the Reformed Church there—this reveals unmistakably that congregational Psalmody, which to Zwingli was a mere ceremony at the best to be winked at, was in the judgment of Calvin an ordinance essential to the right ordering of the Church of Christ. The earnestness of this conviction in Calvin's mind was the foundation of the Psalmody of the Reformed Churches, and in spite of all difficulties he at once proceeded to build upon it.

### III. INAUGURATION OF THE CALVINISTIC PSALMODY AT STRASSBURG.

Banished from Geneva, Calvin went to Strassburg early in September, 1538, and found congregational singing an established ordinance among the German churches. Becoming pastor of the congregation of French refugees in that city, Calvin was now quite free to inaugurate the singing of Psalms among his own countrymen. The great difficulty in the way was the practical one of finding material suitable for the purpose. But within two months of his arrival he had his congregation singing French Psalms after some fashion, as appears from a letter of Zwick, dated November 9, 1538:

“A church has been given to the French at Strassburg in which they hear sermons from Calvin four times a week, but also celebrate the Lord's Supper, and sing psalms in their own tongue.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Opera*, vol. xb, 288.



The printed material then available for such a purpose was of the slightest.<sup>22</sup> Two or three songs based on Psalms were included in the earlier Neuchâtel *Noëlz nouveaulx*, but if Calvin employed them, such use has left no traces. He had begun to gather together such manuscript Psalm versions as he could find, and, because he was much pleased with the tunes sung by the German congregations in Strassburg, he set about composing French Psalms in metres adapted to these tunes.<sup>23</sup>

It is possible that the actual effect upon Calvin of the congregational singing at Strassburg may have been to convince him that to make congregational Psalm singing practicable and effective required not only a translation into the vernacular but also into metrical form; and that his original thought had been merely to have the prose version of the Psalter set to the simpler Gregorian chants. This is consistent with the language of the *Articles* of January 16, 1537, and would explain Calvin's proposal to start congregational singing at Geneva at a time when metrical Psalms hardly existed. It may be added that prose as well as metrical pieces were included in the first issue of Calvin's Psalm book when it appeared. From this point, in any case, Calvin's project is that of metrical Psalmody, and contemplates a complete version of the Psalter.

By the end of December, 1538, Calvin's manuscript materials had sufficiently accumulated to justify his announcing to Farel, then at Neuchâtel, his purpose of printing them forthwith for the use of his congregation.<sup>24</sup> The actual date at which this purpose was accomplished, marking as it would the appearance of the first Calvinistic Psalter, was for long an object of interested inquiry. The available data were these: On June 28, 1539, Pierre Toussain, pastor at Mont-

<sup>22</sup> As to Psalms in French already existing, see Herminjard, vol. iv, p. 163, n.; but compare Bovet, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>23</sup> "Quia majis arridebat melodia germanica": Calvin to Farel, 29 December, 1538. *Opera*, vol. xb, 438.

<sup>24</sup> *Opera*, xb, 438. "Statuimus enim brevi publicare." For the correct date (December 29, 1538) see Herminjard, v, 452, n.

béliard, wrote to Calvin: "I pray you to send me the French Psalms."<sup>25</sup> There was also this passage in a letter of Calvin himself to Farel on October 27 of the same year:

"I have not been able just now to write to Michael. Do you, however, urge him to write by the first messenger what has been done about the psalms. I had given orders that a hundred copies should be sent to Geneva. Now for the first time I am made to understand that this has not been attended to. It was certainly very negligent to delay so long to inform me."<sup>26</sup>

The question was whether these (with one or two later) references implied the appearance in that year, 1539, of a printed Psalter. Herminjard maintained that they did.<sup>27</sup> The learned editors of Calvin's works had doubted it, thinking that the hundred copies were to be made by hand from Calvin's draft.<sup>28</sup> Bovet also held that the Psalms were not yet in print.<sup>29</sup> The question was settled finally by the discovery in the Royal Library of Munich of a copy of the long-lost Psalm book.<sup>30</sup> It is a little book of sixty-three pages, without name of editor or printer, with the title: *Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant. A Strasburg. 1539.* "Here is the first Reformed Psalter: let us greet it," says Calvin's enthusiastic biographer, "with the respect it deserves;"<sup>31</sup> and he quotes appropriately a remark of Zahn:<sup>32</sup>

"This novel book is the source from which the whole literature of the [metrical] psalms has issued; those psalms which for four centuries have resounded in all the world."

<sup>25</sup> *Opera*, vol. xb, 357.

<sup>26</sup> *Opera*, vol. xb, 426.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 452, n.

<sup>28</sup> *Opera*, vol. vi, prolegomena, xxi.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> For an account of the discovery and full description of the book, see Douen, vol. i, pp. 301-303: for the title page in facsimile, see Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 511.

<sup>31</sup> Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 511.

<sup>32</sup> Ad. Zahn, "Calvin als Dichter": *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft*, 1889, vol. vi, pp. 315-319.

The book contains twenty-one pieces in all, each having its melody printed with the first verse. Eighteen are Psalms; seventeen in verse, one in prose. There are also the *Nunc Dimittis* and the Commandments in verse, and the Apostles' Creed in prose. The melodies are some of those used by the German congregations of Strassburg, with which Calvin had been so much pleased. Of the metrical Psalm versions, two we know to be the work of Calvin's own hand, from his own testimony.<sup>33</sup> Three others, as well as the *Nunc Dimittis* and Commandments, are in all probability his.<sup>34</sup> The twelve Psalms remaining are the work of Clement Marot, the most accomplished French poet of his time.

#### IV. CLEMENT MAROT AND THE COURT PSALMODY.

Marot was to play a great part in Reformed Psalmody; a part best explained by saying that Providence raises up its own instruments for its own ends. His whole career was that of a *pensionnaire* of the great and a free lance in religion and in letters. Beginning as page to a nobleman, he sought through courtly verse to win the patronage of the house of Valois. In 1518 he gained a place in the household of Marguerite, duchesse d'Alençon, patroness of the new learning and sister of Francis I. He followed Francis to Italy in the campaigns of 1520 and 1525, was wounded and taken prisoner. Returning to France in the following year, his free speech and satirical gift brought upon him the suspicion of being a Protestant. Marot denied the charge, but was imprisoned for heresy. Francis secured his release in 1527, and gave him a post in his household. He gained a wide popularity upon the publication of his collected poems in 1532. But his enemies also were watching him and waiting for a turn in the political situation that would encourage

<sup>33</sup> "Two Psalms, xli and xxv, are my first attempts; the others I added afterwards." Calvin to Farel, December 29, 1538. *Opera*, xb, 438.

<sup>34</sup> See Bovet, "Sur les Psaumes de Calvin," *op. cit.*, pp. 211-224. For the text of all the verse attributed to Calvin, see *Opera*, vi, 211-224.

a new attack upon him. In 1535 the Parliament of Paris summoned him to appear and answer the charge of heresy. He fled from France and for a while found refuge with the duchess Renée of Ferrara, where he did considerable poetic work.

Marot was permitted to return to France in 1536, and was established under the direct patronage of Francis in a residence in the suburbs of Paris. Here he at once entered upon the project of a translation of the Psalter into French verse. He had made his poetical reputation neither by sustained power nor by sounding depths of feeling, but by vivacious, witty and graceful lyrics and ballads, rondeaux, epigrams, satires and the like—light-hearted and decidedly free in their morals. What turned Marot to the Psalms can only be surmised. The contrast between his offensive epigrams and his Psalms gives a certain plausibility to the opinion that both alike were poetical exercises of a facile pen which worked as readily at the one class of themes as at the other. According to Florimond de Raemonde, Marot's project was rather born of the spirit of the new learning then so active, and took its impulse from his contact with the scholars of the Royal University lately established in Paris by the king. The learned Vatable there expounded the Hebrew Scriptures, and according to De Raemonde, engaged Marot to translate the Psalter, furnishing him with a corrected text.<sup>35</sup>

Marot's gay spirit and free ways have caused hesitation in giving credit to a religious motive from within. But he had room in his heart for genuine religious feeling. He loved the new gospel, as well as the new learning, and he had already suffered for his faith. He must have entered upon the translation of the Psalms well aware, to say the least, that the private interpretation of Scripture and the spread of vernacular translations among the people was an enterprise sure to excite suspicion and likely to involve personal danger.

It is not necessary to assume that Marot was a secret Huguenot or that he aimed at a direct contribution to the

<sup>35</sup> Bayle, *Dictionary*, art. "Marot."

Reformed cultus.<sup>36</sup> There is more ground for holding that he designed to make Psalm singing fashionable by producing versions that would be welcomed as songs. It is certain that he used his position to introduce them at court, putting autograph copies of the Psalms, as he composed them, into the hands of king and queen, courtiers and fair ladies, in the hope that they might replace the frivolous and often objectionable songs then in vogue. In this he succeeded, largely through the delight which his Psalms afforded the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II. Villemadon has left a graphic account<sup>37</sup> of the enthusiasm of the Court over the new Psalmody. The Dauphin sang Marot's Psalms, and gathered musicians to accompany them on the lute and viol. Those about him felt or feigned a share in his delight, and, to please him, begged him to choose for each a Psalm. This he did, until each member of the court had his or her own special Psalm. The Dauphin kept the CXXVIIIth to himself and composed a tune for it. Generally the Psalms seem to have been set to light melodies from the vaudevilles. The Psalms having thus become fashionable, were in the position most favorable to a wider distribution and adoption.

It was the echoes of this Court Psalmody which reached Calvin at Strassburg; and through some one of the doubtless numerous channels of distribution, twelve of these Psalms of Marot reached him in time to be included in his first Psalm book of 1539. At that date Marot had put none of his Psalms into print, other than his early version of Psalm VI, appearing in his *Le miroir de treschrestienne princesse Marguerite de France* (Paris, 1533). And there is no reason to believe that he furnished Calvin with manuscript copies of the twelve Psalms. Their text in Calvin's book of 1539 does not agree with Marot's own text

<sup>36</sup> But compare Douen, i, 283.

<sup>37</sup> Villemadon's letter to Catherine de Médicis is in Douen, vol. i, p. 284-287, and in Bayle, art. "Marot." Florimond de Raemon, in his *Histoire de la naissance, progrès, et décadence de l'hérésie de ce siècle* (Paris, 1610), used the same data to show the unchurchly origins of Reformed Psalmody.

when he soon afterwards printed them, but it does agree with an altered text which Pierre Alexandre made and printed in a Psalm book published by him at Antwerp in 1541: *Psalmes de David, translatez de plusieurs auteurs, et principalement de Cle. Marot. Veu recongneu at corrigé par les theologiens*.<sup>38</sup> It was presumably Alexandre who furnished Calvin with copies of the twelve Psalms for his first Psalm book.<sup>39</sup>

Marot in his home at Paris had gone forward in his work of translation with the approval of the king, and when Charles V came to Paris in 1540, Marot by the king's desire, presented to Charles the thirty Psalms which he had up to that time translated. Charles

"received the said translation graciously, highly valued it, and presented him with two hundred Spanish pistoles, and also encouraged him to finish the said work by translating the rest of the said Psalms, and desired him to send him, as soon as he could, the Psalm *Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus*, because he particularly loved it."<sup>40</sup>

Under such favor, soon to prove fickle enough, Marot printed at Paris, in 1541,<sup>41</sup> his *Trente Pseaulmes de David, mis en francoys par Clement Marot, valet de chambre du Roy*, with a courtier-like dedication to the king and a "priuilege" granted after seeing the "certification of three doctors in theology" that the book contained nothing contrary to the faith, the Scriptures or the usage of the Church.<sup>42</sup> A certain air of levity which Marot had thrown upon his enterprise so far may have successfully veiled his deeper meaning from the king. It was not so with Marot's old enemies, the Faculty of the Sorbonne, who at once con-

<sup>38</sup> See Bovet, *op. cit.*, bibliographie, No. 2.

<sup>39</sup> There is evidence that soon after Calvin left Geneva Jean Gérard, a printer there, printed some of Marot's Psalms from copies which had come into his hands. (Douen, vol. ii, pp. 645-647.) This lost publication was perhaps Alexandre's source.

<sup>40</sup> Letter of Villemadon, *ut supra*.

<sup>41</sup> O. S. Early in 1542, N. S. See Douen, vol. i, p. 290.

<sup>42</sup> Bovet, *op. cit.*, bibliographie, No. 1.

demned the book in spite of the certification of the "three doctors." The Parliament of Paris issued a writ for Marot's arrest. Francis after some hesitation determined to join in the repression of heresy, and withdrew his protection from Marot. No course was open to Marot except flight; he left France, and toward the close of 1542 found a refuge in Geneva.

In this work of translating the Psalms, however heretical, Marot had acted up to this point quite independently of the leaders of the Reformed churches, with whom he was not even in correspondence. But his Psalms, on the face of them, were intended to be sung. And his completion of the *Trente Pseaulmes* afforded an opportunity to enlarge the slim Reformed Psalter which was utilized even before they were actually in print.

Their first appearance in this way was in the Psalter of Pierre Alexandre, already referred to as printed at Antwerp in 1541, and which represented an effort to extend the new Psalmody among the French-speaking people of the Low Countries.<sup>43</sup> Alexandre's position at the Hungarian court no doubt put him in the way of securing an early manuscript copy. His freedom in altering the text proves that he was acting without the knowledge of Marot himself.

It was again through Alexandre that the new instalment of Marot's Psalms came into Calvin's hands, and probably not until after he had left Strassburg. Their next appearance, so far as now known, was in an Order of Worship and Psalter purporting to be printed at Rome,<sup>44</sup> February 15, 1542, by order of the Pope, with the following title: *La manyere de faire prieres aux eglises francoyses, tant deuant la predication comme apres, ensemble pseaulmes et canticques francoys quon chante aus dictes eglises*, etc.<sup>45</sup> The pretended "privilege," which might seem to be a mere jest, was in fact

<sup>43</sup> The book contained no tunes, but in the case of some Psalms, the name of an air was mentioned, to which the Psalm might be sung.

<sup>44</sup> Hence known as the "Pseudo-Roman Edition."

<sup>45</sup> Bovet, *op. cit.*, bibliographie, No. 4. For full contents, etc., see Douen, ii, 333-347.

a device of the printer, by which he hoped to delay sequestration of his wares until they could be marketed.<sup>46</sup> The book was in reality printed at Strassburg, and was a new edition of Calvin's Psalter of 1539, with the new Psalms of Marot and four by other translators, taken from Alexandre's Antwerp Psalter. It did not appear until after Calvin had left Strassburg. It opens with a short preface in justification of Psalmody. The preface is in Calvin's manner and probably by his hand. It leaves an impression of having originally appeared as the preface to an earlier edition of Calvin's service-book and Psalter, in 1540 or 1541, but now lost.

As things are this edition of 1542 is the earliest we have of the Order of Worship introduced by Calvin into the French church at Strassburg. It is substantially a translation of the German Order of Worship observed at Strassburg when Calvin came there, as framed by Bucer;<sup>47</sup> but it bears marks of Calvin's personality, and probably better represents his liturgical views than the modified form of it he afterwards introduced at Geneva.

<sup>46</sup> *Opera*, vol. vi, prolegomena, xv.

<sup>47</sup> The subject is fully elucidated by Alfred Erichson, *Die Calvinische und die Altstrassburgische Gottesdienstordnung*, Strassburg, 1894. Calvin's principal Sunday service in full is in Douen, vol. i, pp. 335-339. See also Doumergue, vol. ii, pp. 488-497.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



## THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA.

### A BRIEF SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY OF FIFTY YEARS.

BY THE REV. HENRY BEETS.

The Reformed Church of South Africa is but little known in America. Dr. R. C. Reed in his excellent *History of the Presbyterian Churches of the World* (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1905) devotes several pages to the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, the parent body, but to the Reformed Church we intend to write about in this article, he gives all told but six lines; and in those lines are three quite important mistakes as to the name of its founder, the date of its organization and the territory it covers.

Trusting that a brief account of this little sister among the Presbyterian family of churches may not be unwelcome to the readers of the JOURNAL, we take boldness in this, the semi-centennial year of that denomination, to tell of its origin and present status.

The Reformed Church of South Africa is composed largely of the descendants of the Dutch people and some Huguenots and Germans who settled in the neighborhood of the Cape of Good Hope in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The first preacher was Rev. John Van Arckel, who was settled among the Cape Dutch in 1662. At first the Classis of Amsterdam, serving as an instrument of the Dutch East India Company, provided the pastors, which were salaried by the Company, and to some extent were its servants. Slowly churches and ministers increased, so that in 1745 a General Assembly could be held. The Church was governed according to the Church Order of Dordrecht, and in doctrine and discipline adhered quite closely to the example of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands.

In 1803 the Dutch authorities introduced a Provisional Church Order, somewhat in the Deistic spirit of the day, and

placing the Church and its ministers entirely in the care of the government. When the Cape became permanently English in 1806 this Church Order remained about the same and caused a good deal of dissatisfaction among those who loved the rules the fathers made in Dordrecht.

Since January, 1814, the Evangelical Hymns of the Dutch Church were introduced in the Cape Church, a measure which only increased the spirit of dissatisfaction among the conservative church members. Meanwhile a liberal tendency had manifested itself among several of the pastors of the Church. Conservative members lived especially in the outlying districts of the Cape Colony, which scarcely ever had any preaching services. But they did not forget to keep up the religion of their fathers. The States Bible with its marginal notes, Brakel and the Heidelberg Catechism were used faithfully. The conservative people of these northern districts came to be known as "Doppers," a name which seems to be a corruption of the Dutch word "Domper" which indicates a man who is behind the times intellectually.

These "Doppers" began to think of separating from the Cape Church, especially since the year 1842, when the "Ring" or Classis of Graaf-Reinet officially recommended and defended the use of the Hymns, and some pastors refused to baptize children of those who were unwilling to use them as contrary to the Church Order of Dordrecht and the traditions of the fathers.

Meanwhile, in 1834, the "great Trek" had begun toward Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Most of the "Doppers" ultimately settled in the Transvaal, principally in the district of Rustenburg. During many years they and the other Boers in the Transvaal were without spiritual care except for the occasional itinerating work of Dr. Daniel Lindley of the American Board, who labored among the Zulus of Natal (since 1834), and whose labor of love is still remembered with great affection.

The well-known Dr. Andrew Murray, since 1849 in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, did what he could for his countrymen across the Vaal River, but on account of his

connection with the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape, which was pretty much controlled by the English Government, his services were not as acceptable to the independence-loving Transvaalers as otherwise they might and would have been.

Besides that, there was a time that the English authorities of the Cape Colony forbade the Dutch Reformed ministers within their domain to administer the sacraments to the Boers who had left British territory, since they were looked upon as rebels who had turned their backs upon the legal government.

In 1852 the Rev. D. Van der Hof arrived in South Africa to shepherd the Transvaal Boers. But it did not take the "Doppers" a long time to discover that his preaching was far from orthodox according to the standards of the Synod of Dordrecht and they turned away from him.

In about the year 1855 some of the leaders of the conservative Boers in the Transvaal and Orange Free State became aware of the existence of the Christian Reformed Church of the Netherlands, and in answer to their appeal the Rev. D. Postma of Zwolle, Netherlands, was delegated by that Church and its Synodical Committee, to go to South Africa to investigate the religious conditions there, and to make such provisions for their kinsmen and fellow-believers as he should deem most useful for them and for God's kingdom.

Rev. D. Postma, born in Dokkum, in 1818, ordained in 1840, and therefore in the best part of his life and usefulness, able-bodied and energetic, arrived in Cape Town in June, 1858, and in Rustenburg on the 10th day of November. He soon discovered that Rev. Mr. Van der Hof and his followers were entirely unwilling to discard the Hymns which were the main bone of contention, although the liberal spirit of that pastor and some of his followers was a factor not to be forgotten. On the 11th day of January, 1859, fifteen prominent men, among whom Commandant, later President, S. J. P. Kruger, formally bade farewell to the Dutch Reformed Church of the South African Republic, declaring that henceforth they desired to exist as a Free Reformed Church

according to the doctrine, discipline and service of the Synod of Dordrecht, the Church Order modified according to present conditions.

The men arranged with Mr. Postma to hold a meeting of all like-minded persons on February 10, 1859. The meeting took place at Rustenburg on the date designated. Mr. Postma and some of the aged of the audience sat in a little tent provided with a table to serve as a temporary desk. A large number of people surrounded this tent which was pitched beneath a large lilac tree which is still standing. The Rustenburg Dutch Reformed Church had been refused to them, although some time previous the church authorities had permitted the conservative brethren to call a pastor who would not use Hymns in church services. Rev. Mr. Postma explained the purpose of the meeting, and read his version of the Church Order which was to be their Constitution.

Three hundred people, mostly from the Rustenburg district, twenty-eight from Mooi River and twenty-nine from Pretoria, declared themselves to be anxious to join the Free Reformed Church which Mr. Postma organized more fully on the following day.

The first elders were Ph. Snyman, P. Venter, St. Kruger and Fr. Robbertse; the first deacons, D. Van Wyk, D. Kruger, J. Bekker and H. Stroh.

Some time after the organization of the Rustenburg Church, congregations were formed in Pretoria, in Potchefstroom, Waterberg and Lydenburg. Mr. Postma traveled week after week and month after month over the Transvaal territory and everywhere found people who rejoiced that at last a man of God had come, with doctrines that they loved and church usages which had become dear to them. Persecutions were not lacking. Attempts of the government and church authorities to have the conservatives come back were in vain, and the church increased in a remarkable way.

In the early part of May of the year 1859 a Reformed church was organized in the Orange Free State, about nine miles from Bloemfontein, the Reddersburg congregation, and the next month Mr. Postma went to the northern part of the

Cape Colony where the way was paved for the organization, in 1860, of three churches, Burgersdorp, Middelburg and Colesberg.

The first Synod was held in Reddersburg, March 20 to 24, in 1862. From the Free State thirteen delegates were present, among them Rev. J. Beyer, who had recently come from the Netherlands to aid Mr. Postma. The three Cape Colony churches were represented by twenty-four ruling elders and deacons, and the General Assembly of the South African Republic had delegated six elders besides Rev. Mr. Postma. The Church Order of Dordrecht was accepted more closely than the one Mr. Postma had modified and offered to his people at the time of the organization of 1859. It was evident that there were two tendencies among the Reformed Church people, the one very strictly conservative and clinging to the old because it was old; the other, headed by Mr. Postma, had a broader look at things, but both sincerely bowed before the Word of God, and in course of time these heterogeneous elements were brought into harmony.

Some of the Christian Reformed Church in the Netherlands in these days did not approve of all that Mr. Postma had done, believing that he should have confined himself to mission work, but it was evident that his authorization was ample enough to justify his actions.

In 1866 two new pastors were ordained who had been educated largely by Mr. Postma, who was also training other promising men, and the marvel is, with his nearly constant traveling, that he could do so much in that line as he has done.

In those days the churches were very simple and the people poor, and the pastors received scarcely any salary, but there was a great deal of that generous sharing of the one with the other that made the first period of the Church in Jerusalem so glorious.

In 1869 the number of preachers had increased to seven, and it was resolved by the Synod of that year to organize a Theological School.

On November 29, 1869, an institution of this character was

opened at Burgersdorp in the Cape Colony, with Rev. Mr. Postma and Rev. J. Lion Cachet as professors. Shortly after this event divisions arose about the question of government support and mission work among the natives, but although a secession took place, principally in Reddersburg, the movement made no headway, and in 1873 the Reformed Church rejoiced in numbering seventeen churches and ten pastors.

In 1882 an attempt was made to unite the three churches then existing in the Transvaal, namely, the Dutch Reformed, the Dutch "Hervormd" and the Reformed Church. The Reformed Church Synod insisted on four things:

First. That the Formulas of Unity of the Dutch Churches be adopted;

Second. The Church Order of Dordrecht;

Third. That only Psalms be used in public worship;

Fourth. That no members of Secret Orders should be permitted to become or remain members of the Church.

The matter came to naught as to the Reformed Church, since its conditions were not accepted. The two other Churches mentioned formed a partial union.

December 28, 1890, the Reformed Church suffered a great loss in the death of Rev. Prof. Postma, and his demise was lamented as the demise of Elijah, "the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof," but the work was continued and the Church increased in numbers and in unity.

Then came the dark days of war which caused South Africa to be filled with blood—in Natal, the northern part of the Cape Colony, the Free State and the Transvaal. Nearly all the preachers of the Reformed Church joined the Com-mando's of their fellow-countrymen. Practically all the students joyfully joined the bands of brave fighters for country and for freedom. When the English became victorious several of the churches and parsonages were destroyed or greatly damaged, the congregations were scattered, some of the pastors were imprisoned, also Professor Cachet, others were sent away into exile and it seemed for a time as if the end had come of the Reformed Church.

Before the war the denomination numbered 21,000 souls.

Of this number 2,655 died during the war, many of them on the field of battle or in the concentration camps. Within a short time the Church lost eight ministers, five of them by death, and several students had been killed.

There was great sadness in the hearts as the first Synod met in April, 1904, but while pastors and people were grief-stricken they were not discouraged, much less did they despair. They put their hands to the plow and the first thing they did (January, 1905) was to remove the Theological School from Burgersdorp to Potchefstroom in the Transvaal, believing that especially in the former South African Republic the hope and future of the Dutch race was centered.

This Potchefstroom College and Seminary at present numbers thirty students instructed by a faculty of five professors. Prof. Lion Cachet still continues in this institution, teaching systematic theology.

The South African Church, as well known, was at first somewhat averse to mission work among the natives. This attitude which has been most severely and altogether too strongly criticised in English books on missions, was partly due to an almost inevitable reaction from the way mission work among the natives had been carried on by English and Dutch missionaries. They had caused the Kaffirs to be filled with conceit and unwilling to do manual labor.

Worse than everything else, Van der Kemp and the other missionaries, except the Germans, had been preaching social equality to the natives. And the Boers with a justifiable spirit of self-preservation, were as vehemently opposed to that, and the consequent mixing with the inferior African races, as the best leaders of our own southern states are opposed to the social equality of the colored people among them. Some Afrikaners believed that the blacks were like the Canaanites who ought to be destroyed. In the same way some Americans have looked upon the Indians within their borders.

But these Afrikaners were not as numerous as some writers have represented. And, whatever the past may have been, in

recent years practically the entire Reformed Church of South Africa is realizing more and more that aside from the undesirable social equality, the natives ought to be reached by the gospel. Consequently they have opened mission stations in Humpata (Portuguese territory), in Venterstad (Cape Colony) and near Pretoria, and the work is gaining in support right along.

The statistics of the Reformed Church for 1909 are as follows:

In the Transvaal, 24 churches, with 7,400 communicants, 8,233 baptized members, 15,633 souls.

In the Orange River Colony, 12 churches, with 2,934 communicants, 3,051 baptized members, 5,985 souls.

In the Cape Colony, 17 churches, with 4,853 communicants, 5,204 baptized members, 10,057 souls. A total of 31,675 persons and 53 congregations.

In the Transvaal there are eleven ministers, in the Orange River Colony seven and in Cape Colony thirteen. Most churches having a pastor have two services on Sunday; during one of these services a Lord's Day portion of the Heidelberg Catechism is explained. Vacant charges usually meet on one Sunday of each month, and every quarter they have services led by ministers. Every Sunday, except communion Sundays, those who live too far from the church hold meetings in private homes, led by the elder of the district. Catechism classes meet usually on Sundays between the regular services of public worship.

In the outlying districts the ruling elders catechise, once or twice per month. The congregations are supported by the voluntary contributions of the members.

The official organ of the denomination is *Het Kerkblad*, a small twelve-page monthly that certainly ought to be enlarged in justice to the Church and its principles. It is published in Potchefstroom with Professor Cachet as editor.

Several free Christian primary schools are supported by members of the Reformed Church, but at present with the government practically in their own hands and the public schools permitting Bible reading and the singing of religious



songs, they are not a unit as to the question whether or not the public school ought to be patronized.

The doctrinal trend in the Reformed Church is of the strict Reformed type for which Drs. A. Kuyper and H. Bavinck stand in the Netherlands, and these men and their principles exert a strong influence on this denomination much more than on the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, which manifests more regard for English Methodistic methods and spirit.

Grand Rapids, Mich., February 2, 1909.

THE CORPORATE SEAL OF THE TRUSTEES OF  
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MON-  
MOUTH COUNTY.

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO "THE MINUTES OF THE COL-  
LEGIATE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MONMOUTH  
COUNTY, N. J." <sup>1</sup>

BY JAMES STEEN, A. M.

It is a little singular that no mention of the Corporate Seal appears in the minutes of the Trustees, and yet that they had such a seal is, of course, implied from the fact that they were a corporation and could only act under a corporate seal. It is now something like a score of years since the writer discovered, in Philadelphia, in the possession of Arthur W. Little, Esqr., since deceased, the only known impression of that corporate seal. It was attached to a deed for land that had been intended for a parsonage or manse for the pastor of the Shrewsbury Church. The land described therein consisted of the two parcels that had been conveyed to the trustees by John Little, Jr. (the first-named trustee in the Charter of Incorporation), and by Peter Knott. The twenty-acre tract was situated near Tinton Falls on the highway to Eatontown, and was that which had been intended for a manse, and although the deed (a copy of which follows) conveyed it away, the Rev. Dr. Charles McKnight, who was pastor of Shrewsbury from April 21, 1767, till January 1, 1778, seems to have owned the same tract and to have lived thereon while serving that church. It is the same described in a deed, now or lately in the possession of Old Tennent, dated July 23, 1751, and which is recorded only in the foregoing minutes. It was in addition to the legacy left by the trustee's father, "John Little" (*sic*), the first. The second tract of thirty-eight and three quarter acres was the wood

<sup>1</sup> See JOURNAL for March, June and September, 1908.

lot at Chestnut Plains, also near Eatontown, and was evidently intended to furnish the necessary firewood and fencing for the manse. It was the same described in the deed of Peter Knott, dated January 1, 1758. The original of this deed is also in possession of Old Tennent. The deed upon which the seal of the corporation is found is now in the possession of The Presbyterian Historical Society, and the corporate seal has been reproduced in stone, over the Filbert Street entrance of the Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia. How it came to be in the possession of Arthur W. Little can only be a matter of conjecture, but we might venture the suggestion that it was given to his ancestor, the trustee, to collect from the purchaser the amount due the corporation for the land sold. The deed is as follows:

THIS INDENTURE made this fifth day of May in the year One thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty, BETWEEN the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Monmouth County in the Province of New Jersey of the one Part, and Elihu Williams of the Town of Shrewsbury and County abovesaid Yeoman of the other Part, WITNESSETH that they the said Trustees for, and in Consideration of the Sum of Three Hundred Pounds Current money of the said County at 8/p oz., To them in hand paid by the said Elihu Williams, The Receipt whereof they the said Trustees doth hereby Confess, and Acknowledge and of, and from every part and parcel thereof doth Release, Acquit and Discharge him the said Elihu Williams, his Heirs Executors and Administrators and every of them for Ever by these Presents, And themselves therewith to be fully satisfied contented and paid, HATH Granted, Bargained and Sold, And by these Doth fully, freely, clearly and absolutely Grant, Bargain and Sell, Alien, Enfeoffe, Release, Convey and Confirm unto him the said Elihu Williams, his Heirs and Assigns for Ever ALL that Tract or Lott of Land Scituate and being in the said town of Shrewsbury, adjoining to John Little's Farm, BEGINING at the South West Corner in the said John Little's Line on the North Side of a Road that goes from the Falls, Thence North Sixty four Degrees East Ten Chain and fifty links along said Road, Thence North half a Degree more Easterly Nineteen Chain and fifty links, Thence South Eighty Eight Degrees West Nine Chain and Thirty Seven links to said John Little's line of his Farm whereon he now Dwells, Thence along said line to where it began, Containing twenty Acres of Land ALSO one other Tract of Land, Scituate in said Town of Shrewsbury, BEGINING at the North-West corner of the Farm Called the Chestnut Plain belonging to John Little Esq., at a Stake or Stone planted for a Corner in

the line of Land belonging to Lewis Morris Ashfield Esqr., thence running South ten Degrees and thirty minutes West twenty Six Chains and ten links along the said John Little's line to a red-Oak tree marked on three sides, thence South ten Degrees and fifteen minutes West along his line twenty Seven Chain and forty links to the line of Land belonging to the Heirs of Michael Kerney Decd, Thence along said Kerney's line North Eighteen Degrees twenty Six Chain and fifty links, Thence North twenty Six Degrees East along said Kerney's line twenty nine chain and Seventy links, Thence East along said Ashfield's line<sup>1</sup> four Chain and Sixty links to where it began, containing thirty Eight Acres and three quarters of an acre of Land, TOGETHER with the Mines, Minerals, Woods, Trees, Quarries, Hawkings, Hunting, Fowlings and all the Improvements, Liberties, Advantages, Hereditaments and Appurtenances to the said Tracts of Land Belonging, (Excepting the half part of all the Mines in the last mentioned Tract.) WITH All the Right, Estate, Title, Interest, Property, Use, Possession, Claim and Demand whatsoever of them the said Trustees, both in Law and Equity, and either of them, of, in, to or out of the same, and every part thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the above Granted Tracts of Land as above Bounded and Described, with all and Singular the Privileges and Appurtenances of Right or Custom to the same belonging, (Except the above Exception) unto him the said Elihu Williams his Heirs and Assigns for Ever, To the only proper and Sole use and uses, benefit and behoof of him the said Elihu Williams his Heirs and Assigns for Ever, AND they the said Trustees for themselves and their Successors and every of them, Doth Covenant, Promise, Grant, Bargain and Agree to and with him the said Elihu Williams his Heirs and Assigns firmly by these Presents, that they the said Trustees at the time of the Enscalling and Delivery of these Presents, hath in themselves full Power and Absolute Lawful Authority, To Grant, Bargain and Sell the Above Granted Tracts of Land as Above Bounded and Described, with the Appurtenances, unto him the said Elihu Williams his Heirs and Assigns for Ever AND that the same and Every part thereof now is, and Shall for Ever hereafter Remain free and Clear unto him the said Elihu Williams, his Heirs and Assigns from all manner of trouble, charge or incumbrances whatsoever in the Title or Possession thereof committed or Done by them the said Trustees, AND that the above Granted Premises and every part thereof with the Appurtenances, unto him the said Elihu Williams his Heirs and Assigns, to their proper use and behoof, and in his and their Quiet and Peaceable Possession and Seizen, Against the Just Right, Lawfull Claim, Challenge or Demand of all Persons Lawfully laying Claim thereto, or to any part thereof Shall and will Warrant and for Ever hereafter Defend by Virtue of these Presents, IN WITNESS whereof the said

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<sup>1</sup> "line" inserted.

Trustees *Partie* to these Presents hath Set their Hands and Seal<sup>s</sup> of their Corporation the day and Year first above written 1760.

Signed Sealed and Delivered

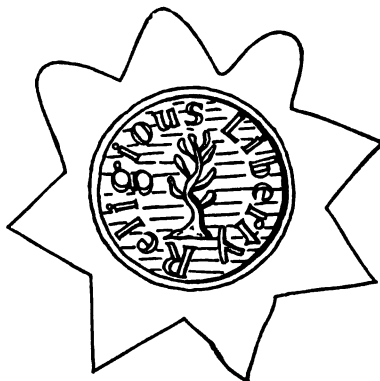
Signed by Order of the Trustees

in the Presence of

by

Jarret Morford

James Grover



J<sup>n</sup> Henderson President.

Peter Knott lies in Shrewsbury Presbyterian Graveyard, where his tombstone says he died February 15, 1770, aged about 89, while John Little, the trustee, died in 1785, and he and his father, John Little (died 1750) are both buried in the same cemetery. The £200 left in the latter's will for the benefit of the Shrewsbury Church, together with the proceeds of the foregoing sale, made quite a little sum for investment in aid of the preacher's salary. The last, however, that can be discovered of it was a mortgage given by George Williams to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Monmouth County, dated November 13, 1775, and recorded January 25, 1776, in the Monmouth County Clerk's office in Freehold, N. J., in Book A of Mortgages, at page 268, on fifty acres now in the village of Eatontown (and a portion of which is owned by the writer), to secure the £200. Further trace of the legacy of "John Little," the first, has been impossible. This was perhaps due to the disturbances of the Revolution.

"Seals"; "s" cut out and "of their Corporation" inserted.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING JANUARY 14, 1909.

In presenting the Annual Report of the Council it seems fitting that first of all we should express our gratitude to Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, that the lives of all the officers of the Society and members of the Executive Council have been spared throughout the year, and that all have with more or less activity been engaged in prosecuting the work for which we are organized.

The new By-Laws adopted January 9, 1908, have proved effective and satisfactory. The bi-monthly meetings of the Council have been regularly held and well attended. The Committees have met monthly except during the summer months.

The great event of the year was the dedication, on May 14, 1908, of the Makemie Monument on the eastern bank of Holden's Creek, Accomack County, Virginia. A special excursion was arranged to Makemie Park and about one hundred prominent Presbyterians made the trip. The day was greatly enjoyed by all present. A full account of the conception, completion and dedication of this monument under the able leadership of the President of the Society was published in the December number of the JOURNAL. It is therefore unnecessary to refer to the subject at greater length except to state that the Permanent Fund for keeping in good condition the Makemie Monument and grounds as authorized at the last annual meeting has been established and \$1,000 already invested.

An amendment to the By-Laws is now pending on the appointment of a Standing Committee on Parks, Monuments, Historical Memorials and Buildings. This Committee is to have the care of the Makemie Memorial Park, the Wither- spoon Monument and such other Parks, Monuments, His-

torical Memorials and Buildings as may be erected under the direction or placed in the custody of the Society.

The adoption of this amendment will broaden our work, and hereafter being responsible for the care of trees and stones, as well as of books, papers, pictures, tokens, etc., we can make a strong appeal to the Presbyterian public for support, especially from those who would rather read sermons in stones than in books.

Were it not that it would make the report of the Council too long, the work of the Society during the past year could not be presented better than by reading the annual report of each one of the Committees. These Committees are as follows: Library, Publication, Museum and Gallery, Finance, Membership, Meetings and House. Following this order we shall briefly summarize the doings of the Committees during the year.

*Library.* This Committee is properly named first in the By-Laws, for upon it and the Honorary Librarian rests the burden and heat of the day. The special task of the year has been the continuation of the collating and binding of the accumulated church periodicals referred to in previous reports. Broken files have been completed and the following have been collated and bound:

*The Standard*, Vols. I-V, and 1862-1864.  
*Presbyterian Expositor*, 1860, 1861.  
*New York Evangelist*, 1845, 1901.  
*St. Louis Evangelist*, 1875-1877, 1884-1887.  
*Interior*, 1896, 1898, 1899.  
*New York Observer*, 1907.  
*Christian Statesman*, 5 vols.  
*Philadelphia Observer*, 1836, 1837.  
*Religious Telegraph and Observer*, 1839.  
*Christian Observer*, 1895.  
*Presbyterian*, 1907.  
*Christian Intelligencer*, 1867, 1868, 1876, 1907.  
*Pittsburgh Recorder*, Vols. III-VI.  
*Christian Observer*, 1875, 1884, 1886, 1888.  
*Banner of the Covenant*, 1863-1870.  
*Christian Intelligencer*, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1893-1896, 1901, 1902.  
*Reformed Church Messenger*, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1907.

*Presbyterian Journal*, 1886, 1887, 1890, 1892, 1894-1896.

*Herald and Presbyter*, Vols. XLI-XLVI, LIV-LVI, LXVII, LXVIII, LXX, LXXVIII.

*Presbyterian Banner*, Vols. LXVII-LXX, LXXXV-LXXXIX, XCI-XCIII.

Surplus volumes have been sent to the Library of Congress at Washington, to the New York Public Library and to the State Library at Harrisburg. To the Catalogue there have been added 535 Cards and a list of the most important books and manuscripts acquired will be published in the March number of the JOURNAL.

Thus in a few sentences we dispose of the work of the Library Committee, but nonetheless with a deep appreciation of the labors performed by the Librarian and by the Clerk whose fidelity is commended.

*Publication.* The JOURNAL has been published regularly four times during the year and was well received, especially by kindred societies. The December number, devoted entirely to the Makemie Memorial, contains the most complete outline of the life of Francis Makemie ever published. This number was paid for entirely out of the Makemie Fund. The JOURNAL is an important factor in keeping alive and before the public the aims and purposes of the Society. We should all do what we can to increase its circulation and contribute or have contributed to it such articles as will be acceptable to the Committee.

*Museum and Gallery.* Next to the Library in point of labor comes the work done by the Museum and Gallery Committee under the direction of the Curator, who is an enthusiast in his department. In May, 1908, there was an exhibition at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church at Pittsburg, and books, pictures, seals, etc., were loaned by the Society and by several members thereof. The loan was highly appreciated, and all articles have been returned in good condition.

In October, 1908, in connection with Founders' Week, Philadelphia, four screens were arranged in our rooms with pictures on them representing the history of the First, Sec-



ond and Third Presbyterian Churches of Philadelphia, and other colonial churches and incidents. During the year many gifts have been received, the most important being the Shiells' collection of tokens. We now possess doubtless the most complete collection of tokens to be found in the world. Twelve books have also been received from the library of the late Robert Shiells, which will be of great value in arranging and cataloguing the tokens.

There has been purchased and hung in one of the rooms a framed portrait in oil of the Rev. William D. Snodgrass, painted by N. Jocelyn. The Rev. Mr. Snodgrass was a Trustee of Princeton Theological Seminary from 1830 to 1834, and again from 1835 to 1886, the year of his death.

The members of the Society will be pleased to know that the Committee has a neat balance of money in its hands which will be used in purchasing, if necessary, new accessions as may be obtained from time to time. Members and friends are requested to keep their eyes open and notify the Committee of any articles which, if added to our already valuable collection, would tend to make the Museum worthy of our great historic Churches.

*Finance.* The affairs of the Finance Committee are so closely identified with the report of the Treasurer, which will be presented herewith, that it will not be necessary to refer to them except to state that \$1,000 received for the Makemie Memorial Fund was invested in a five per cent. bond of the New York Central Railroad Equipment. The Committee would be delighted to have more of this kind of work to perform, as their principal duties now seem to be to pass upon the payment of bills. During the year Mr. John H. Converse gave \$1,500 to establish in memory of his wife the Elizabeth Perkins Converse Endowment Fund, the interest to be used for current expenses. Our thanks are due to Mr. Converse for this evidence of continued interest in the work of the Society. This gift came in the shape of interest-bearing bonds, and therefore reinvestment on the part of the Finance Committee was unnecessary. We are also indebted to the Rev. Prof. George Macloskie and to Mr. John Mc-

Ilhenny for the gift of \$350, being the balance in the Treasury of the Scotch-Irish Society of America, which sum has been added to the General Endowment Fund.

We cannot pass from the consideration of the finances without making some reference to the long and useful career of our Treasurer, and to express the hope that he may continue for years to come to fill this important position.

*Membership.* During the year twelve new members were added. There have been four deaths, as follows: Rev. E. R. Craven, D. D., of Philadelphia; Rev. David M. Cooper, D. D., of Detroit, Mich.; Hon. Daniel R. Noyes, of St. Paul, Minn., and Mr. John Sinclair, of New York City. The total membership at this date is 242, 48 being life members and 194 annual members. It is highly important that the membership be maintained and increased, as the only fixed revenue we have is from the dues of the members, except a small amount realized from the interest on Endowment Funds.

*Meetings.* On March 9, 1908, the Rev. Marcus A. Brownson, D. D., Pastor of the Tenth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, read an interesting paper on "Revivals in History."

On May 1, at a dinner given in the rooms to the members of the Society and invited guests, addresses were made germane to our work by the Rev. Thomas C. Johnson, D. D., Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.; the Rev. Edward P. Johnson, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, New Brunswick, N. J.; the Rev. Frederic W. Loetscher, Ph. D., former Instructor in Church History, Princeton Theological Seminary, and by the Rev. James Carter, Professor of Church History, Lincoln University, Pa.

On December 14, a paper was read by the Rev. F. W. Loetscher, Ph. D., Pastor of the Oxford Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on "Early Protestant Views of the Bible."

All of the meetings were interesting and helpful.

*House.* All of the rooms have been kept in excellent order, and the blinds on the windows overhauled and repaired. The

rooms have been opened all the year except during August and on legal holidays. The Reading Room was used 215 times and 279 persons visited the Museum and Gallery. The Library was consulted by 301 persons. In the spring the Reading Room was used by the General Assembly's Evangelistic Committee, and in the latter part of the year by the Federal Council as a correspondence room.

So much for the past. Now as to the future. This year should be memorable because of the celebration of the 400th Anniversary of the birth of John Calvin. Here is an opportunity for us through the Library, the Museum and Gallery, the Meetings and the Publication Committees to bring into prominence our Society which is so well equipped to make Calvin and his work better known to the present generation.

Further, we trust that something will be done looking to an increase in the membership. Instead of about 250 members, we should have at least 500. This could be accomplished if each member would induce one other person to become a member. We can hardly hope for this, but the suggestion may lead some of our members to be diligent in adding a number of new names to the roll before the next annual meeting.

And then, future success depends upon the men who will interest themselves in the aims and purposes of the Society. We should be on the alert to find men of some leisure with literary tastes, men of Calvinistic faith loyal to the Reformed Church, men who love history and historical associations who will identify themselves with us in perpetuating the work of The Presbyterian Historical Society. Of this harvest it may be said it is truly great, but the laborers are few. Should we not for this as well as for other fields pray the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth laborers into his harvest.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM H. SCOTT,  
*Chairman.*

## THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in its Rooms on Thursday afternoon, January 14, 1909, at 3 o'clock, the President, the Rev. Dr. Henry C. McCook, presiding.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. J. M. S. Isenberg.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

Mr. William H. Scott, Chairman of the Executive Council, presented the annual report of the Executive Council. On motion the report was received and ordered to be printed in the JOURNAL.

The Treasurer presented his annual report as follows:

### DE BENNEVILLE K. LUDWIG, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

#### GENERAL ENDOWMENT ACCOUNT

	Dr.	Cr.
To amount of fund, January 1, 1908.....	\$5,028 78	
Scotch-Irish Society of America.....	350 00	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of fund.....	5,378 78	
Interest .....	184 00	
By cost of investments.....		\$4,626 75
Deposit in Western Saving Fund Society.....		752 03
Current Expense Account.....		184 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5,562 78	5,562 78

#### WM. C. CATTELL ENDOWMENT ACCOUNT

To amount of fund.....	2,600 00	
Interest .....	104 00	
By cost of investments.....		2,591 75
Deposit in Western Saving Fund Society.....		8 25
Library Maintenance Account.....		104 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,704 00	2,704 00

*JAMES LATTA ENDOWMENT ACCOUNT*

To amount of fund.....	\$1,000 00	
Interest .....	40 00	
By cost of investment.....		\$990 00
Deposit in Western Saving Fund Society.....		10 00
Gallery and Museum Maintenance Account....		40 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,040 00	1,040 00

*ELIZABETH PERKINS CONVERSE ENDOWMENT ACCOUNT*

To contribution of Mr. John H. Converse, in memoriam .....	1,500 00	
Interest (six months).....	37 50	
By investment .....		1,500 00
Current Expense Account.....		37 50
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,537 50	1,537 50

*SUMMARY OF ENDOWMENT ACCOUNTS\**

General Endowment Fund.....	5,378 78	
Wm. C. Cattell Endowment Fund.....	2,600 00	
James Latta Endowment Fund.....	1,000 00	
Elizabeth Perkins Converse Endowment Fund...	1,500 00	
Investments .....		9,698 50
Deposited in Western Saving Fund Society...		780 28
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10,478 78	10,478 78

*CURRENT EXPENSE ACCOUNT*

To balance January 1, 1908.....	49 28	
171 annual dues.....	\$855 00	
Contributions—From a friend.....	150 00	
Rev. Fred. R. Brace,		
D. D. ....	1 00	
Makemie Monument Fund for Decem- ber JOURNAL .....	108 41	
Sales of JOURNALS.....	28 42	
Interest from General Endowment Fund .....	184 00	
Interest from Elizabeth Perkins Con- verse Endowment Fund.....	37 50	
Interest from bank deposits.....	46 33	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,410 66	

\*Note by the Treasurer. Previous to 1879 there had been collected, largely through the efforts of Samuel Agnew, then Treasurer, a fund for

By salaries of clerk and janitor.....	\$640 00	
Publishing and mailing four issues of		
JOURNAL .....	426 94	
Printing, postage and incidentals....	137 42	
Gallery and Museum incidentals.....	20 00	
Repairs to rooms.....	32 50	\$1,256 86
Present balance .....		203 08
	\$1,459 94	1,459 94

*LIBRARY ACCESSION ACCOUNT*

To balance January 1, 1908.....	1,595 09	
Sale of duplicate books.....	89 32	
Interest from deposit in Western Saving Fund	52 50	
By accessions .....		253 50
Present balance .....		1,483 41
	1,736 91	1,736 91

*LIBRARY MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT*

To balance January 1, 1908.....	111 27	
Interest from Wm. C. Cattell Endowment Fund	104 00	
By binding periodicals.....	\$120 20	
Incidentals .....	9 81	130 01
Present balance .....		85 26
	215 27	215 27

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the purchase of a permanent home for the Society. In March, 1879, the property, 1229 Race St., was bought for \$12,000, and in February, 1881, an annex was erected and furnished at a cost of some \$4,500. In view of the Society's taking quarters in the Witherspoon Building, this property was sold in 1898 for \$20,000, of which sum \$5,000 was appropriated to fitting up the library, museum, etc. In consideration of the use of the rooms (518-532 Witherspoon Building), the balance, \$15,000, was turned over to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, it being agreed that if said Board gave up the control of the building, or the said Society vacated its rooms, the sum of \$15,000 should be returned to the Society. In fact therefore this fund constitutes an asset of the Society additional to its endowments, representing its real estate or building fund.

*SAMUEL AGNEW MEMORIAL LIBRARY ACCOUNT*

To balance January 1, 1908.....	\$138 70	
By accessions .....		\$50 00
Present balance .....		88 70
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	138 70	138 70

*GALLERY AND MUSEUM ACCESSION ACCOUNT*

To balance January 1, 1908.....	21 96	
Sales of duplicate pictures.....	141 65	
By accession .....		1 00
Present balance .....		162 61
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	163 61	163 61

*GALLERY AND MUSEUM MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT*

To balance January 1, 1908.....	73 20	
Interest from James Latta Endowment Fund..	40 00	
By portrait of Rev. Wm. M. Snodgrass.....		50 00
Present balance .....		63 20
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	113 20	113 20

*GALLERY AND MUSEUM EQUIPMENT ACCOUNT*

To balance January 1, 1908.....	220 15	
By mounting tokens.....		37 60
Present balance .....		182 55
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	220 15	220 15

*MAKEMIE MONUMENT MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT*

To interest from Makemie Monument Maintenance Fund .....	30 56	
By present balance.....		30 56
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	30 56	30 56

**SUMMARY OF PRESENT CASH BALANCES:**

Endowment Account .....	\$780 28
Current Expense Account .....	203 08
Library Accession Account .....	1,483 41
Library Maintenance Account .....	85 26
Samuel Agnew Library Account .....	88 70
Gallery and Museum Accession Account .....	162 61

Gallery and Museum Maintenance Account .....	\$63 20
Gallery and Museum Equipment Account .....	182 55
Makemie Monument Maintenance Account .....	30 56
Total .....	3,079 65

All of which is respectfully submitted.

DE BENNEVILLE K. LUDWIG.

January 9, 1909.

The report was received and referred to an Auditing Committee, to be printed in the JOURNAL upon the Committee's report of approval. The report of the Auditing Committee is as follows:

The foregoing account was compared with the vouchers and found correct. The securities on hand representing invested funds correspond with the investments for which credit is claimed in the account.

GEORGE A. LYON,  
LOYAL Y. GRAHAM,  
ALFRED PERCIVAL SMITH,  
*Auditing Committee.*

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*Vice Presidents:*

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MR. CLARKSON CLOTHIER,	REV. JAMES PRICE, D. D.,
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REV. LOYAL Y. GRAHAM, D. D.,	MR. ALEXANDER VAN RENSSELAER,
MR. T. WILSON HEDLEY,	*REV. CHARLES R. WATSON, D. D.

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\* Members of the Council *ex-officio*.

*Solicitor:*

J. CLAUDE BEDFORD, ESQ.

*Local Chairmen:*

REV. DR. JOSEPH H. DUBBS, of Lancaster, Pa.  
 REV. DR. E. T. CORWIN, of North Branch, N. J.  
 REV. DR. WM. J. HINKE, of Auburn, N. Y.  
 REV. WILLIAM R. HUSTON, of Clifton Heights, Pa.  
 MR. WILLIAM C. LILLEY, of Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 REV. DR. SAMUEL A. MARTIN, of Shippensburg, Pa.  
 JAMES STEEN, Esq., of Eatontown, N. J.

The Corresponding Secretary was directed to express to Mr. Harry P. Ford the Society's regret at his declining a re-appointment to the Executive Council, and its hope that at an early date he may be able to accept reappointment.

Upon motion of Alfred Percival Smith, Esq., and the Rev. Dr. Louis F. Benson, the Recording Secretary was directed to inform the Executive Council of the Society's wish that a new By-Law, establishing a Committee upon Historical Memorials, may be adopted by the Executive Council.

John S. MacMaster, Esq., and the Rev. William Boyd were elected members of the Society.

The President, the Rev. Dr. Henry C. McCook, delivered an address, advocating the obtaining by the Society of a suitable building of its own.

The minutes of this meeting were read and approved, after which the Society adjourned, with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Samuel T. Lowrie, and the benediction.

WALTER A. BROOKS,  
*Recording Secretary.*

## RECORD OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY

*HISTORY OF EGYPT CHURCH.* By Charles R. Roberts and Rev. J. D. Schendel, D. D. Read before the Lehigh County Historical Society. Allentown, Penna., 1908. 8vo, pp. 72; stitched.

Mr. Roberts's part was to narrate the "History of the Reformed Congregation of Egypt Church"; Dr. Schendel's (he has since died) to narrate the "History of the Lutheran Congregation of Egypt Church." For the two congregations hold the church property in common; and of the two the Reformed is the older. It is the oldest Reformed congregation in Lehigh County; and Mr. Roberts (who likes documentary evidence for his conclusions) claims that its baptismal record from 1734 is the oldest record book of a Reformed congregation in this country.

*THE NEW YORK OF YESTERDAY: A Descriptive Narrative of Old Bloomingdale; its Topographical Features, its Early Families and Their Genealogies, its Old Homesteads and Country-seats, its French Invasion, and its War Experiences Considered in Their Relation to its First Religious Society, the Bloomingdale Reformed Church, Organized 1805; Incorporated 1806 as the Church at Harsenville.* By Hopper Stryker Mott, Member of the New York Historical Society, etc. New York: Putnams, 1908. 8vo, pp. 26, 597; cloth.

"The annals are given of the entire region of the Bloomingdale of old New York City, extending from 23d St. to 125th St. on the west side of Manhattan Island. Original abstracts, wills and MSS. have been studied to supply material not heretofore published. The illustrations give views of local mansions, institutions and portraits of old residents and maps of different hamlets which were comprised in Bloomingdale. Marriages and baptisms in the Harsenville church from 1806 to a recent date are appended."—*Publisher's Weekly*.

**RESPICE: ADSPICE: PROSPICE.** *A Brief History of Knox Memorial 1858-1908.* "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year." "A Jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you." Published by Authority, May 15, 1908, to commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the work of Knox Memorial. New York: Engraved and Printed by A. C. Bushnell, 1908. Square 12mo, pp. 21; stitched.

The Knox Memorial began as a Sunday school in a hay loft over a stable on 46th Street in New York City. It was sustained by the Sunday-School Board of the Reformed Church in America, from whose President, Dr. John Knox, it took its name. This brief history of the work of fifty years is illustrated by views of the present beautiful building on 41st Street.

**COMMEMORATING THE GOLDEN JUBILEE of First Presbyterian Church, Wausau, Wisconsin: 1858-1908.** N p., n. d. [1908]. 8vo, pp. 28; stitched.

With great fulness of illustration, the Committee of the Session have here presented a permanent memorial of fifty years of church life, including (under difficulties) a chronological summary of events. The difficulty found in the doing of it is the best evidence that the work needed to be done, if the knowledge of the church's beginnings was to be preserved. Organized in 1858, this church first appeared in the N. S. Minutes of 1859 as "Warsaw."

**MILES PARK PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, Cleveland, Ohio.** *December 31, 1832 to December 31, 1907. Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Sermon, Delivered Sunday, January 12, 1908, by Rev. Arthur C. Ludlow, D. D., Souvenir copy, 25 cents.* Cleveland, Ohio: Nelson Bros., Printers. N. d. [1908]. 8vo, pp. 36; roan.

This sermon is packed full of interesting details, including identification of sites connected with parochial history, careful records of dates and names and biographical data. These will give it permanent value. We notice here (as in other cases) that in recording the present church officers the pastor excludes himself from the "Session," giving that name to the elders.

## NOTES

### THE PRINCIPAL ACCESSIONS DURING THE YEAR TO THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM AND GALLERY OF THE SOCIETY.

(Here published at the request of non-resident members. Current Minutes of Judicatories, reports of Historical Societies, local church histories, Year Books, current periodicals and books reviewed in the JOURNAL, are excluded.)

#### I. LIBRARY.

##### 1. *Manuscript.*

Certified copies Virginia records relating to Makemie and his family.  
Records of Session, Presbyterian Church of Burlington, N. J.  
Record of organization, Presbyterian Church, Eugene, Ore.  
Papers relating to First Reformed Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.  
Call to Thomas Hamilton by Associate Congregation of New York, 1802.  
Three subscription books, Associate Congregation of Philadelphia, 1790.  
Rev. Wm. Marshall's register of baptisms and births: Scots Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1767-1801.  
Manuscript and typewritten copies of Dr. Sheldon Jackson's correspondence relating to Presbyterian missions and church organization in the Northwest; bound in ten vols., together with numerous packages of original letters.

##### 2. *Printed.*

Evans, Charles: *American Bibliography*.  
Lindsay, T. M.: *History of the Reformation*.  
Berry, J. M.: *Lecture on the Covenants*.  
Barbour: *History of Wm. Paterson and the Darien Company*.  
Sherman, A. M.: *Historic Morristown*.  
Schaff, P.: *Katechismus*, 1861.  
Graham, G. W.: *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence*.  
Hoyt, W. H.: *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence*.  
Moore, J. H.: *Defence of Mecklenburg Declaration*.  
Curtis: *Life of James Buchanan*.  
*National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, 13 vols.  
Morrison, W.: *Andrew Melville*.  
*Works of John Calvin*: Amsterdam, 1667, 9 vols., folio.

- Richardson, R.: *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*.  
 Law, Andrew: *Harmonic Companion*, 1807.  
 Collins, W. E.: *Study of Ecclesiastical History*.  
 Boyd, A. K. H.: *Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews; Last Years of St. Andrews; St. Andrews and Elsewhere*.  
 Steele, R. H.: *Anniversary Discourse, First Reformed Church, New Brunswick*.  
*Magill Family Record*.  
 Bullinger, Heinrich: *Reformationsgeschichte*.  
 Stæbelin, R.: *Huldreich Zwingli, Sein Leben und Wirken*.  
 Mörikofer, I. C.: *Ulrich Zwingli*.  
 Herminjard: *Correspondance des Reformateurs*, 9 vols.  
 Ramsay, David: *Evolution of South Carolina*.  
*The Scottish Psalter*; Hart's edition, Edinburgh, 1615.  
 Zwingli: *Uslegen unde grund der Schlussredne*, 1523.  
 Melancthon: *Corpus Doctrinæ Christianæ*, Leipzig, 1560.  
 Willison: *Sacramental Meditations*, 1792.  
*Confession of Faith*; Edinburgh, 1783.  
 Miller: *Doctrines and Genius of Cumberland Presbyterian Church*.  
 Fontaine: *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*.  
 Doumergue: *Jean Calvin*, 3 vols.  
 Wilson, J. S.: *Necrology of Synod of Georgia*.  
 Logan, J. B.: *History of Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Illinois*.  
 Keith, R.: *History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 3 vols.  
 Ruchat: *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, 7 vols.  
 Bonner, D. F.: *Psalmody Question*.  
 Stewart, R.: *Colonel George Stewart and His Wife*.  
 Henderson: *Stonewall Jackson*, 2 vols.  
 Wallace, Jno. W.: *William Bradford*.  
 Mallmann, J. E.: *Shelter Island and Its Presbyterian Church*.  
 Brown, Hume: *George Buchanan*.  
 Donaldson, James: *The Confession of Faith and the Thirty-nine Articles*.  
 Boss, W.: *Glimpses of Pastoral Work in Covenanting Times*.  
 Winsor, Justin: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols.  
 Kuhns: *German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*.  
 Johnson, T. C.: *Life of B. L. Dabney*.  
*Memorial of Horatius Bonar*.  
 Witherow, T.: *Derry and Enniskillen in 1689*.  
 Blaikie: *Preachers of Scotland*.  
 Sprott: *Scottish Booke of Common Prayer*.  
*Looking Glass for Presbyterians*, Phila., 1764.  
 Julian: *Dictionary of Hymnology*, new edition.  
 Bossert, A.: *Calvin*.  
 Bolsee: *Histoire de la vie.....Jean Calvin, 1577*.

## II. GALLERY AND MUSEUM.

Photograph of Tablet to Rev. J. Addison Henry, D. D., in Princeton Presbyterian Church, Phila.

*Historic Churches of America*, in parts.

Engraved portrait of Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, D. D.

Photograph of Rev. L. P. Bowen at the grave of Colonel William Stevens.

Oil portrait of Rev. William D. Snodgrass.

Colored photograph of Rev. John Witherspoon, D. D.

Photographs of Middletown (Pa.) Presbyterian Church and graveyard.

Lock and key of Madam Holden's smoke house, Holden's Creek, Va.

Gavel used at Presbyn Synod of Pennsylvania, 1893.

Gavel made from wood of old yellow frame church, Newtown, N. J.

Communion tokens Neshannock, Derry and Old Pine Street, Philadelphia, Presbyterian Churches.

Framed photographs and engravings of

Rev. John Neil McLeod,

Rev. Gilbert MacMaster,

Rev. Gavin McMillan,

Rev. and Mrs. Hugh MacMillan,

Sixth General Council, Presbyterian Alliance, India,

Native Reformed Presbytery of India, 1901.

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE REMOVAL OF THE  
PORTRAIT OF DR. GEORGE DUFFIELD FROM INDE-  
PENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

Old Pine Street Church,  
Pine, above Fourth Street,  
November 6, 1908.

To the Advisory Committee of Independence Hall:

Chief Justice James T. Mitchell, 1722 Walnut Street.

Hon. William H. Staake, 544 N. Seventeenth Street.

Hon. Hampton L. Carson, 1033 Spruce Street.

Mrs. C. C. Harrison, 1618 Locust Street.

Mrs. A. J. Cassatt, 1418 Spruce Street.

Mrs. Samuel Chew, Main and Johnson Streets, Germantown.

We, the Pastor of Old Pine Street Church and the sixteen Officers of said Church and the entire congregation, call your attention to the fact that the Oil Painting of George Duffield has been removed from the honorable place which it has so long occupied in Independence Hall.

We respectfully request that it shall be returned to its old place among the eminent heroes who were the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. We submit that the painting of Bishop White and that

of George Duffield should hang side by side among the great men of the American Revolution as they were the two men especially honored by the Continental Congress as the Representatives of the Church of Christ in the capacity of Chaplain.

With great respect, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

HUGHES O. GIBBONS, *Pastor.*

P. S. I send you a copy of "The Westminster" and the "Presbyterian" containing articles which were written introducing Founders' Week.

This action was taken last Sunday a week.

Court of Common Pleas, No. 5,

Philadelphia, November 13, 1908.

Reverend and Dear Doctor Gibbons:

The "remonstrance" against the removal of the portrait of Rev. George Duffield from Independence Hall was received, presented to the board having charge of the historical collections of Independence Hall, and has received the consideration of the members of the board.

I am directed to advise you as "pastor of Old Pine Street Church," the sixteen "officers of said church and the entire congregation," remonstrants as aforesaid, most respectfully, that the portrait of Rev. George Duffield, was removed, by direction of the board in pursuance of the recommendation of a competent committee of the board that only the portraits of the signers of the Declaration and of those officially connected with the signers, at the time of the "Declaration," should hang in the Hall, and that the other portraits should be placed in other parts of the Hall building.

I am further directed to advise you that the oil "painting of Bishop White," to which reference is made by the remonstrants, should in the light of subsequent research, have been removed in pursuance of the said plan at the same time the "painting of George Duffield" was removed. The painting of Bishop White has since been removed and now occupies an "honorable place" side by side with the painting of George Duffield in the Colonial reception room of the State House—the largest room in the building, extending across the entire front.

Historical investigation evidences that neither Bishop White nor Rev. George Duffield was serving the Continental Congress at the time of the signing of the "Declaration of Independence" in the capacity "of chaplain."

It has been the aim of the members of the board to group the very valuable and important historical collection of portraits, the property of the city of Philadelphia, with reference to the events with which the subjects of the portraits were directly connected. As an item of



information it may be properly asserted that any tradition that Dr. Duffield's portrait was placed originally by the Federal government, or was bought by it, is an error. The State House belonged to the State of Pennsylvania and the city took title in the early part of the last century. The Federal government never exercised any jurisdiction over the building. The Continental Congress was a tenant by the courtesy of the State.

On behalf of the Board,

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM H. STAAKE,  
*Secretary.*

REV. HUGHES O. GIBBONS, D. D.,  
Pastor of Old Pine Street Church,  
and other remonstrants.

Philadelphia, November 24, 1908.

Honorable William H. Staake, Chairman "of the Board having charge of the historical collections of Independence Hall."

My Dear Judge Staake: Your very kind and courteous letter replying to the remonstrance of the officers and members of the Old Pine Street Presbyterian Church was received and presented to the people after the morning service, November twenty-second.

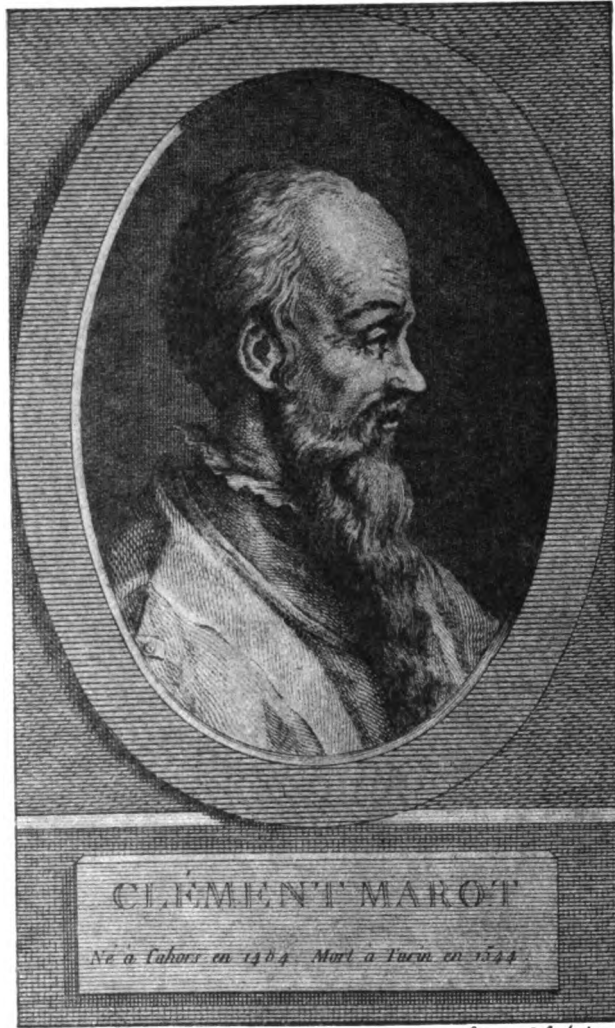
I am directed to advise you, as chairman of the committee, that we are much pleased that our remonstrance "has received the consideration of the members of the committee" and that the portrait of the Rev. George Duffield, D. D., has been restored to its proper place beside that of Bishop White.

We fully appreciate the efforts of the members of the committee in behalf of historical accuracy and express the hope that further "historical investigation by your competent committee" will "evidence" the fact that both Bishop White and Rev. George Duffield were officially connected with the Continental Congress during the period that witnessed the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and that those who gave them the honorable place among the signers acted with great discrimination, wisdom and reverence. The place given the portraits of these "men of God" was simply an acknowledgment of their faith in Him to whom the signers had appealed.

With great respect, faithfully yours,

HUGHES O. GIBBONS, *Pastor.*





*Peint par Carleone à Paris.*

*Gravé par Duflos à Paris.*

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## Presbyterian Historical Society

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### JOHN CALVIN AND THE PSALMODY OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES:

BEING THE FIRST OF THE LECTURES UPON "THE PSALMODY  
OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES," DELIVERED ON THE L. P.  
STONE FOUNDATION, AT PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL  
SEMINARY, IN FEBRUARY, 1907.

BY LOUIS F. BENSON, D. D.

[Continued from Page 21.]

#### V. INAUGURATION OF PSALMODY AT GENEVA.

The date of Calvin's return to Geneva, upon being recalled from his exile, was September 13, 1541. In the church reorganization that ensued, he was now the dominating influence, and he gave immediate attention to the public worship, which during his absence had continued unchanged on the lines originally established by Farel. Calvin brought with him his little Strassburg Psalm book and the Order of Worship he had there observed. In adapting the latter to Genevan use he made numerous modifications. Of these the most important were the omission of the declaration of absolution following the confession of sins and a loosening of the rubrics so as to encourage free prayer. These modifications are not necessarily indicative of change in Calvin's own liturgical views. Some were plainly concessions to the somewhat extreme notions of liturgical simplicity prevailing

at Geneva.<sup>48</sup> But, nevertheless, the Order of Worship as established at Geneva rather than that established at Strassburg was henceforth regarded as representatively Calvinian. Under the authority of his name it became the general model of Reformed worship, and it largely determined the worship of all branches of English-speaking Presbyterians.

While thus willing to accommodate himself to local conditions in all matters not regarded by him as essential, Calvin abated nothing of his earlier insistence upon the establishment of congregational Psalmody. Two months after his arrival he obtained permission from the Council to introduce Psalm singing into the public worship.<sup>49</sup> This was on November 20, 1541. At that time he had apparently no materials for the purpose except his own scanty collection. But in February, 1542, or very soon after, he received the enlarged edition of the Strassburg Psalter published in that month. He at once availed himself of its contents, and published later in the year the first Genevan edition of his Psalter as *La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques, avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacremens, & consacrer le Mariage, selon la coustume de l'Eglise ancienne*.<sup>50</sup> The volume opened with an unsigned "Epistre au lecteur," which, with additions made in 1543, remains the fullest presentation of Calvin's view on Psalmody.<sup>51</sup> Besides the Form of

<sup>48</sup> See, *contra*, Douen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 350. But compare Doumergue, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 502, note; and, more fully, the same author's *Essai sur l'histoire du culte réformé*, Paris, 1890, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Douen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 347. See also pp. 354, 355.

<sup>50</sup> One copy survives, found by Wackernagel in the library of Stuttgart. The services are printed in full in *Calvini Opera*, vol. vi, 161-210, with some of the Psalms; for a full description see Douen, vol. i, pp. 347-351.

<sup>51</sup> The full text of Calvin's preface as printed in 1542 is in Ph. Wackernagel, *Bibliographie sur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, 1855, pp. 575, 576; and with the additions of 1543, in *Opera*, vi, 165-172. Wackernagel's description of this edition (from the copy which he discovered) now requires modification. For a translation of the greater part of Calvin's preface, see J. W. Macmeekin, *History of the Scottish Metrical Psalms*, Glasgow, 1872, pp. 98-100.

Prayers, etc., now commonly known as "Calvin's Liturgy," this edition contained all the thirty Psalms of Marot, the five Psalms and two canticles of Calvin himself, with Marot's metrical Lord's Prayer and Creed. The text of Marot's Psalms is that of Alexandre's Antwerp Psalter, showing that Calvin had not yet seen Marot's own publication of the *Trente Pseaumes*, for, when he did see it, he greatly preferred Marot's original text. Calvin, very likely, had not seen even the Antwerp Psalter. He took his material directly from the Strassburg edition of February, 1542, of which, excepting the omission of five versions there copied from the Antwerp Psalter, and the substitution of the metrical for the prose Creed, Calvin's first Genevan edition is a reproduction. The musical contents of this edition are more distinctive, the Strassburg melodies, where here employed, having been subjected to revision, and twenty-two melodies added, which here first appear.

#### VI. THE GENEVAN PSALTER: CALVIN, MAROT AND BEZA.

The singing of Psalms had established its place in the public worship of Geneva when Marot arrived, toward the end of 1542, but to him and the other French refugees it was a novelty indeed. The sight of the great congregation gathered in St. Peter's, with their little Psalm books in their own hands, the great volume of voices praising God in the familiar French, the grave melodies carrying holy words, the fervor of the singing and the spiritual uplift of the singers,—all of these moved deeply the emotions of the French exiles now first in contact with them, and, most of all, Marot, for he recognized the songs the congregation sang as being his own. His work of Psalm translation thus gained a new meaning, and he was more easily persuaded by Calvin and his associates to proceed in it with a view of putting the complete Psalter before the congregation.

This work involved the personal coöperation of Calvin and Marot. Marot would object to the changes Alexandre had introduced in the text of his Psalms as sung at Geneva;

Calvin would insist upon certain amendments in the old work and the new in the interests of fidelity to Scripture. Altogether during the period of his sojourn at Geneva, Marot added nineteen to the number of his versions of Psalms. These, together with an improved text of his earlier versions, he printed at Geneva in August, 1543, as *Cinquante Pseaumes*<sup>52</sup> *en francoys par Clement Marot*, introduced by his famous "Epistle to the Ladies of France." This publication was literary, and not liturgical, the Psalms not being set to music. There can hardly be a question that Calvin at once proceeded to have this done, and that in 1543 or 1544 he printed a new edition of his Psalter containing the forty-nine Psalms; but no copy of such edition has come to light.<sup>53</sup>

This coöperation of Calvin and Marot at Geneva is one of the most curious episodes in the history of Psalmody. All that is known of it argues a spirit of accommodation and devotion to a common cause which redounds to the credit of both men. The familiar charge of cruel treatment on Calvin's part, and gross misconduct on Marot's, may be alike dismissed as unsupported. It is especially to Calvin's credit that he recognized so frankly the superiority of Marot's work, that he accepted the poet's own text as against that previously adopted, in spite of the practical inconvenience of such a change, and that he suppressed his own Psalm versions, and substituted Marot's, because better. Anxious for the completion of the Psalter, he requested the Council to make a grant to Marot, that he might stay and proceed in

<sup>52</sup> In reality forty-nine, the *Nunc Dimittis* counting as the fiftieth.

<sup>53</sup> The Ecclesiastical Registers of Geneva, 16 June, 1543, show the publication of another lost edition of "The Psalms of David, with the Prayers of the Church," to which the date affixed to Calvin's preface (10 June, 1543) corresponds. But that edition could hardly have had Calvin's supervision or approval, as the printer inserted in it the *Ave Maria*, which canticle, when seen by the consistory, was ordered to be expunged. There seems to have been another edition that summer, for which Calvin prepared the enlarged preface of 10 June, 1543. This must have been a reprint of the Psalms already in use. See Douen, vol. i, p. 448.

his work. This was refused.<sup>54</sup> Soon after, Marot quitted Geneva, and died at Turin in August, 1544. The action of the Council no doubt disappointed him; and Beza is formally correct in saying that Marot "had been bred up in a very bad school, and could not submit his life to the reformation of the Gospel;"<sup>55</sup> but justice demands that the reformation of the Gospel referred to should be explained as meaning the Calvinistic discipline as then imposed upon Geneva.

The refusal of the Council to engage Marot to complete the Psalter, whether caused by prejudice or parsimony, was a blow to Calvin as well as to the poet; and Marot's death quenched any reasonable expectation of completing the Psalter on the same level of poetic excellence. Marot's success raised up a number of imitators, but so far as the Calvinistic Psalter was concerned, his death arrested its progress for several years.

In the autumn of 1548, four years after Marot's death, Theodore Beza arrived at Geneva in the enthusiasm of his new faith. Out of the old life of prosperous gayety which he renounced he brought with him a considerable equipment of Renaissance scholarship and literary accomplishment. On attending the public worship for the first time, he heard Marot's XC1st Psalm sung by the congregation, and, as he himself has told us,<sup>56</sup> received an impression so deep that it remained with him all his life. It is likely that Beza, with his literary instincts and confirmed habit of verse making, felt a disposition to try his hand at Psalm translation. It is certain that Calvin, who had been seeking some one capable of assuming Marot's unfinished work,<sup>57</sup> believed that he had found him in the person of Beza. Beza informs us that he

<sup>54</sup> *Registres du Conseil*, 14 Octobre, 1543: cited Bovet, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>55</sup> *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Antwerp, 1580, vol. i, p. 33 (quoted in H. Morley, *Clement Marot and other Studies*, London, 1871, vol. ii, p. 62). For Beza's relation to this book, see H. M. Baird, *Theodore Beza*, N. Y., 1899, pp. 310 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Note to Latin Paraphrase of 91st Psalm: *Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum Prophetarum Libri Quinque*; ed. London, 1586, p. 412.

<sup>57</sup> Calvin to Viret, 15 March, 1545: *Opera*, vol. xii, 47.



undertook the work at Calvin's instigation,<sup>58</sup> but he did not begin it until after going to Lausanne as professor of Greek at the end of 1549.

Beza's progress was not rapid enough for Calvin, who wrote Viret on January 24, 1551:

"If he has any of the Psalms ready, they need not be kept waiting for company. Ask him to send at least some of them by the first messenger."<sup>59</sup>

Beza quickly responded. On March 24, 1551, he obtained permission of the Council to print the remainder of the Psalms with musical notes,<sup>60</sup> and during that year the first instalment appeared from the Genevan press of his friend, John Crespin, as *Trente-quatre pseauxmes de David, nouvellement mis en rime françoise au plus pres de l'hebreu, par Th. de Besze de Vezelay en Bourgogne*. In this the Psalms were introduced by a lengthy "Epistle to the Church of our Lord," evidently designed to replace Marot's "Epistle to the Ladies of France" with deeper notes of encouragement to the "little flock" under persecution, and which long continued to be reprinted as an introduction to the Psalters.

Calvin was entirely satisfied with the new Psalm versions of Beza, whom he had come to hold in the deepest affection. He sent a copy of them to Madame de Cany early in 1552, that she might see for herself what Beza was doing for the Church, and be led to intercede for his relief against the pecuniary pressure of his enemies; in order "that he may follow out this work, and better things beside."<sup>61</sup> These other demands evidently diverted Beza's hand from Psalm translation. His thirty-four Psalms and Marot's forty-nine were gathered together and printed at Geneva in 1552 as *Pseauxmes octante-trois de David*, but no new material was added till the reprint of 1554, under the same title but

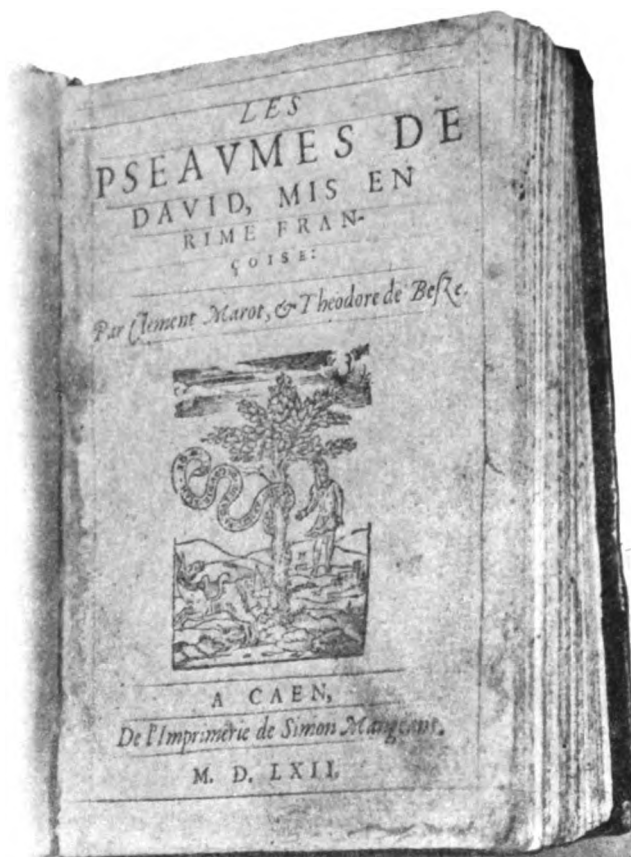
<sup>58</sup> In the dedication of his Latin Psalms, quoted in Bovet, p. 25, note.

<sup>59</sup> *Opera*, vol. xiv, 27, 28.

<sup>60</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 552.

<sup>61</sup> *Opera*, vol. xiv, 451-454.





THE GENEVAN PSALTER.

Facsimile of Title Page of one of the complete editions of 1562.

(Douen, bibliographie, No. 106, bis.)

Size of original page,  $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

appending six new versions of Beza. One more appeared in an edition of 1554 or 1555. It was not until 1562, sixteen years after Marot's death, and twenty-three years after the publication of Calvin's first collection, that the complete Psalter appeared at Geneva, under the designation afterwards so familiar: *Les Pseaumes mis en rime françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze* (Geneue, Antoine Dauodeau et Lucas de Mortiere, pour Antoine Vincent.)

#### VII. THE MELODIES OF THE GENEVAN PSALTER.

An essential part of the *Genevan Psalter* was the melodies to which the Psalms were set. From its beginnings in 1539 the Psalter was not a book of poetry, but a song book in which every piece had its proper tune.

As has already appeared, the singing of Marot's Psalms began, not among the Huguenots, but at the French court, which set the fashion of adapting them to popular airs. The Psalms, says Florimond de Raemon<sup>d</sup>,<sup>62</sup> "were not then set to music, as they are now, to be sung in churches; but everyone gave them such a tune as he thought fit, and commonly that of a ballad." These tunes, Raemon<sup>d</sup> says, were popular because they were pleasant and easy to learn. The example of the court was followed by Pierre Alexandre in preparing his Antwerp Psalter of 1541. It contained no tunes, but a number of the Psalms were preceded by the opening words of some familiar song, as indicating the melody to which they were adapted.<sup>63</sup>

Calvin's course was different. He held pronounced views as to the character of music which was suitable to the house of God. In his preface of 1543 he said:

"It has always to be seen to that the singing be not light and frivolous, but that it have weight and majesty, as Saint Augustine says: so that the music made to amuse people at dinners and at home differs

<sup>62</sup>*Histoire de l'hérésie*; quoted by Bayle, *Dictionary*, art. "Marot."

<sup>63</sup>See Bovet, p. 249.

widely from the Psalms sung in church in presence of God and the angels."

In order to carry out these views Calvin from the beginning supervised the music of his Psalter with the same zeal and pains he gave to its literary upbuilding. The melodies he heard in the German congregations at Strassburg became his starting point; he preferred them, as he wrote Farel,<sup>64</sup> to the French tunes. Some of them he adapted to the manuscript Psalms in his possession, and to make others available he made Psalm versions of his own, as we have already seen. These melodies, embodied in Calvin's Strassburg Psalter of 1539, became the basis of the Genevan music. Eleven of them<sup>65</sup> (though with one exception modified more or less by musical editing) retained their places through all the subsequent development of the Genevan Psalter. One of them (the XXXVIth), in connection with Beza's version of the LXVIIIth Psalm, to which it was afterwards set, was destined to have a great career as the "Huguenot Battle-Psalm."<sup>66</sup>

When Calvin secured the introduction of Psalm singing at Geneva in November, 1541, the first step was to familiarize the people with the tunes; and his original proposal to begin with the children was now carried out by the Council. William Franc, a refugee from Rouen, who in June of that year had been licensed to establish a singing school, was appointed to teach the children "to sing the Psalms of David," with a salary of ten florins,<sup>67</sup> and on June 6, 1542, was made precentor at St. Peter's. On April 16, 1543, the Council resolved that:

"Whereas the Psalms of David are being completed, and whereas it is very necessary to compose a pleasing melody to them, and Master

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<sup>64</sup> December 29, 1538. *Opera*, vol. xb, 438.

<sup>65</sup> Psalms, 1, 2, 15, 36, 91, 103, 104, 114, 130, 137, 143. The original melodies of 1539 may be recovered by means of chapter xxi of M. Douen's work.

<sup>66</sup> For the history of Psalm and tune see Doumergue, vol. ii, appendice viii, "La Psaume des Batailles."

<sup>67</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 608.

Guillaume, the precentor, is very fit to teach the children, he shall give them instruction for an hour daily; and that Master Calvin be conferred with concerning his salary."<sup>68</sup>

The salary of fifty florins proposed by the Council was raised through Calvin's urgency to one hundred. Franc retained his position till 1545, when he informed the Council that he could not live at Geneva on a hundred florins, and, upon their refusal to augment his salary,<sup>69</sup> he resigned and went to Lausanne.

It does not appear that Franc had any part in the musical editing of the *Genevan Psalter* of 1542. The Order of Council just quoted contains no intimation that he was employed to compose as well as to teach the new tunes. The persistent claim that Franc composed and arranged these melodies is not supported by the evidence. It rests upon a letter of David Constant, professor at Lausanne at the end of the seventeenth century, which Bayle published in his *Dictionary*.<sup>70</sup> Constant wrote that he had seen a testimonial signed by Beza, dated November 2, 1552, declaring that it was Franc who set the Psalms to the melodies sung in the churches, and that he (Constant) owned a copy of the Psalms printed at Geneva under Franc's name, and also a magistrate's license of 1564 in which Franc is named as the composer of the tunes. Constant's statements were investigated by Léonard Baulacre, who reported in the *Journal Helvétique*,<sup>71</sup> in 1745, that he could find no reference to the composition of tunes in Beza's testimonial of 1552, and that the Psalter seen by Constant, although printed at Geneva, was not the *Genevan Psalter*, but an independent one prepared by Franc for use at Lausanne.

Franc established himself at Lausanne in 1545, and was

<sup>68</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 608.

<sup>69</sup> 29 May, 1545. Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 513.

<sup>70</sup> Art. "Marot."

<sup>71</sup> *Recherches sur les psaumes de Marot et de Bèze*, reprinted in *Œuvres de Baulacre*, Geneva, 1857, vol. i, p. 410; quoted in Douen, vol. i, pp. 609, 610.

made precentor in the cathedral. He found Marot's Psalms in use there, but the melodies were not those he had been accustomed to at Geneva. In this little matter of the tunes, Lausanne had pleased itself by asserting its independence of Geneva. On July 21, 1542, Viret wrote Calvin: "We have resolved to sing at once the music of the Psalms composed by Gindron," a canon of the cathedral, "which is easier and more agreeable than yours."<sup>72</sup> Franc's coming to Lausanne, with none too kindly recollections of Geneva, doubtless acted as an encouragement to prepare a complete Psalter on the same musically independent lines. In 1552 the minister of Lausanne applied to the Council of Geneva for permission to print the Psalms with the Lausanne tunes, there being no printers at Lausanne.<sup>73</sup> The Council saw no objection and granted a license. No Psalter of that date has been discovered, but in 1565, three years after the appearance of the complete *Genevan Psalter*, there was published at Geneva the complete Psalter edited by Franc, under the title, *Les psaumes mis en rime françoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beze, avec le chant de l'Eglise de Lausanne*.<sup>74</sup> This Psalter itself, and the "privilege" of the Genevan authorities to print it, dated December 1, 1564, were those seen by Constant, and account for the error into which he was led as to Franc's connection with the *Genevan Psalter*. In the preface<sup>75</sup> to his Psalter Franc disclaims any rivalry of "those who have done their work faithfully" or any wish "to correct what they have done so well"; but he neither intimates nor implies that his own hand had shared in their work. Franc's Psalter contains some twenty-seven compositions or adaptations of his own. He explains that these were called for to accompany recent translations of Psalms to which hitherto no proper tunes had been set. As for the rest, he claims the right to choose the best of those already in use in Lausanne or other Reformed churches.

<sup>72</sup> *Opera*, vol. xi, 412.

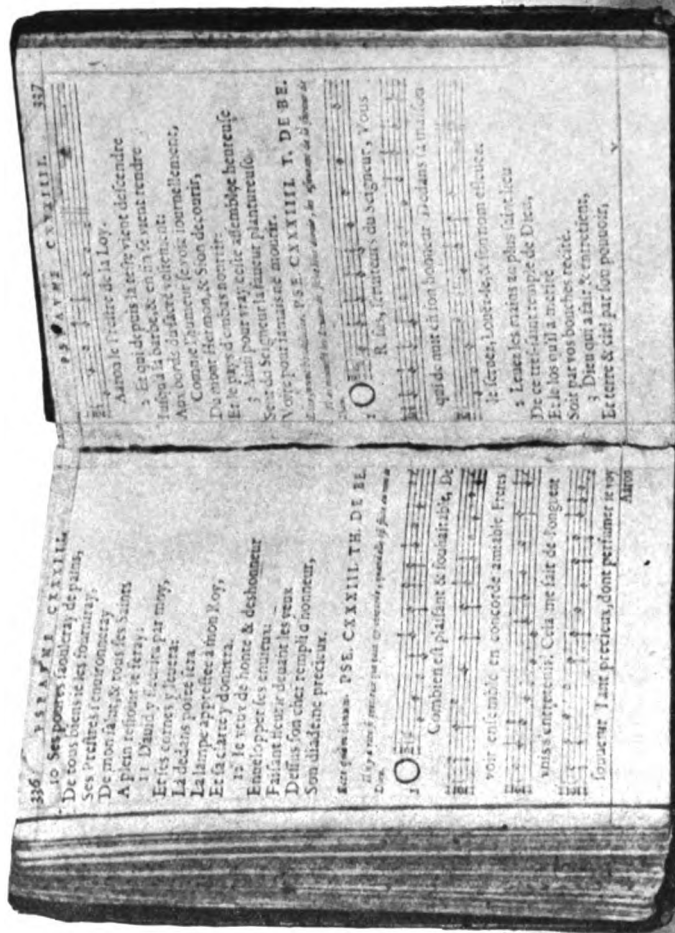
<sup>73</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 612.

<sup>74</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 610.

<sup>75</sup> Reprinted in Bovet, note v, and Douen, vol. i, p. 611.







An opening of the GENEVAN PSALTER, 1562.  
The melody at the right is that commonly called "The Old Hundredth."

Franc's tunes in the Lausanne Psalter are of small merit,<sup>76</sup> and were soon superseded even in Lausanne itself. Their present interest lies in the internal evidence they afford that the man who wrote them could not also have been the composer of the Genevan melodies; for the particular distinction of the Genevan tunes lies in their unsurpassed excellence. They were composed, to quote Robert Bridges,<sup>77</sup> by an "extraordinary genius" in that grave type of melody best adapted to congregational praise.

There is no reasonable doubt that they were the work of another French musician, for fifteen years a resident of Geneva, Louis Bourgeois. He had come there in 1541, with Calvin or soon after him, and probably by his invitation. Calvin recognized his ability, at once engaged him as musical editor of the 1542 edition of his Psalter, and became his sponsor and advocate before the Council. In 1545 the Council divided Franc's office and emoluments between Bourgeois<sup>78</sup> and William Fabri. In 1574 they granted him the freedom of the city, "because he is a good man and willing to teach the children," and exempted him from guard duty that he might give himself more closely to his studies. In the license of 1552 to print the Lausanne Psalter, which has been already referred to, it is distinctly stated that it was Bourgeois who had arranged the melodies of the earlier editions of the *Genevan Psalter*, and who had set to music the Psalms of Beza more lately added to it.<sup>79</sup>

In return for this service, which after events were to prove so great, the Council treated Bourgeois with ill-judged parsimony and worse. In 1551, at the very height of his best

<sup>76</sup> Specimens are given by M. Douen.

<sup>77</sup> "A Practical Discourse on some Principles of Hymn Singing": *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1899, p. 55; and separately, Oxford, 1901, p. 29.

<sup>78</sup> The *Registres du Conseil* are the source of our knowledge of Bourgeois' career. As such they were explored and reported upon by M. Th. Dufour in the *Revue critique*, 1881. The important entries are in Bovet, pp. 60, 61; Douen, vol. i, pp. 615, 616, and Doumergue, vol. ii, pp. 514 ff.

<sup>79</sup> The license is reprinted in Douen, vol. i, p. 612, and Grove, *Dictionary of Music*, art. "Franc," note.

work, they cut his salary in half. Then followed a series of petitions from Bourgeois, who "desired to live and die in their service," and asked only enough to live on. Calvin intervened, and pleaded the musician's poverty, but in vain; the Council would "speak no more of money." Meantime Bourgeois was constantly at work to perfect the music of the Psalms, and the Council, wearied of his petitions, made this an occasion of silencing him. On December 3, 1551, they arrested and imprisoned him, because without their permission he had made alterations in certain of the melodies of the earlier printed editions of the Psalter, thus causing confusion in public worship. Calvin again intervened and secured his release after twenty-four hours. Calvin had more difficulty in recommending the alterations to the Council, but in the end they were allowed to stand.<sup>80</sup>

The limits of Bourgeois' work in preparing melodies for the *Genevan Psalter* include the editions from 1542 to 1551. The whole number of melodies from his hand is eighty-three, set to the original thirty Psalms of Marot, nineteen later Psalms of Marot and thirty-four of Beza.<sup>81</sup> Most, possibly all, of these are constructions from melodic material already extant, even to the adaptation of current secular melodies,<sup>82</sup> Bourgeois left Geneva and returned to Paris in 1557. The melodies of the additional Psalms of Beza incorporated in the edition of 1562 were undoubtedly by another hand whose identity has not been established, but which has proved to be an inferior one both in practice and in the judgment of musicians.

Claude Goudimel has been confidently proclaimed as the composer of the Genevan melodies in whole or in part by De Thou, Florimond de Raemonde, and even by John Quick in his *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*.<sup>83</sup> But Goudimel

<sup>80</sup> See a full account of this incident, so suggestive of Calvin's concern for the music and musician, in Doumergue, vol. ii, pp. 514, 515.

<sup>81</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 649; but compare Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 516, note 7.

<sup>82</sup> Douen, chap. xxii, "Origines des mélodies du Psautier."

<sup>83</sup> London, 1692, vol. i, p. v.

never came to Geneva, and remained in the Roman Church until after the *Genevan Psalter* was well advanced.<sup>84</sup> His work upon the Psalms began with the recently recovered *Premier livre, contenant huyct Pseaulmes de David, traduitz par Clement Marot et mis en musique au long (en forme de mottetz) par Claude Goudimel*, published at Paris in 1551.<sup>85</sup> Goudimel's work ultimately covered the entire Psalter, but it consisted then and later in furnishing harmonies to the already existing melodies. The beauty and wide diffusion of his settings attached his name to the *Genevan Psalter* and gave ground for the tradition that it was he who composed the melodies.

#### VIII. SPREAD OF THE GENEVAN PSALMODY IN FRANCE.

The practice of congregational Psalmody, begun at Geneva in 1542, had spread rapidly among the Swiss churches. In Lausanne it was introduced almost simultaneously;<sup>86</sup> at Grandson, in the Pays de Vaud, not until 1549.<sup>87</sup> In 1553, according to Garnier of Strassburg, the Psalms were sung in all the French speaking evangelical churches.<sup>88</sup>

In France, as we have seen, Marot had originally surrounded Psalmody with an air of grace and charm. It had spread from court to people irrespective of Protestant affiliations, and there remained many within the Church who saw no harm in it. But since the condemnation of Marot's *Trente Pseaulmes*, the singing of Psalms in the vernacular had been generally regarded by the authorities as an act of defiance and a sufficient evidence of heresy. Soon after Henry II had set up "la Chambre ardente," the edict of Fon-

<sup>84</sup> See Doumergue, vol. ii, appendice ix.

<sup>85</sup> See Grove, *Dictionary of Music*, art. "Goudimel," vol. i, new edition, 1906. At that date Goudimel was still in the old Church, whose members then felt free to use the Genevan melodies.

<sup>86</sup> Viret to Calvin, 21 July, 1542. *Opera*, vol. xi, 412.

<sup>87</sup> A. Buchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*. Genève, 1727 seq., vol. vi, p. 452. For an error in the date as given in Vulliemin's later ed. see Bovet, p. 47, nota.

<sup>88</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 557; vol. ii, p. 514 (bibliographie No. 47).

tainebleau<sup>89</sup> put the stamp of heresy upon the printing of books dealing with Holy Scripture, the importation of any books not first approved by the Theological Faculty of Paris, and even the possession of books which had been condemned. The edict of Chateaubriand, June 27, 1551,<sup>90</sup> was particularly aimed at the growing influence of Geneva. Intercourse with the refugees there, and importation of books printed there, were especially prohibited. The provisions of the edict for searching all packages from abroad, for an inspection thrice in a year of the great fairs at Lyons, and notably the prohibition of the sale by peddlers of any sort of books, serve to reveal the methods by which Psalm books and other Genevan publications were scattered through France.

The Protestants of France were not long wholly dependent upon Geneva for their Psalm books. Several reprints of Marot's Psalms had appeared both at Paris and at Lyons before the edict of 1547. But in 1549, at Lyons, which was conveniently remote from the eyes of the Paris theologians,<sup>91</sup> there appeared an edition which included the melodies, evidently printed with a view of competing with Geneva for the Protestant market,<sup>92</sup> constantly enlarging through the formation of new congregations.

The many printings of Marot's Psalms in varied form in these and the following years imply a wide diffusion of them among the Protestants and those more or less in sympathy with them. The Protestants did not confine their Psalm singing to the congregational meetings and the privacy of their homes. They sang in the streets and in other public places. At Bourges in the spring of 1559 it became the daily custom for a large company to assemble in the evening on the green and sing Psalms; the people thronging about them to listen and often to participate in the Psalmody. In spite of repeated

<sup>89</sup> December 11, 1547. See H. M. Baird, *The Rise of the Huguenots of France*, N. Y., ed. 1896, vol. i, p. 275.

<sup>90</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 279-281.

<sup>91</sup> G. H. Putnam, *Books and their makers in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii, N. Y., 1897, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 94.

proclamations by the town-crier, this continued through all the summer, the singers gathering about a gallows erected on the green to warn them of their impending fate.<sup>93</sup> The situation is even more clearly revealed by a well-authenticated incident occurring in the heart of Paris itself in the spring of 1558.<sup>94</sup>

A throng of the better classes of Paris was enjoying its customary promenade at the "Pré-aux-Clercs," an open ground adjoining the university, when some voice, with whatever motive, happened to start the melody of one of the Genevan Psalms. At once other voices took it up, until the whole body of promenaders, students, ladies and gentlemen, and some exalted personages, were united in continuing the Psalm. The singular demonstration was repeated during the afternoons following, until the matter was taken notice of by the faculty of the neighboring college of the Sorbonne, officially investigated by the Parliament, and ordered to cease.

Such incidents show how great a part the Genevan Psalmody was playing in spreading the Genevan doctrines in France. The popular sympathy it awakened in the stress of the persecutions under Henry II did much toward developing the party of reform and toleration within the Church itself. In some places the ancient order of the Church worship was seriously threatened, as in the churches of Bas-Poitou, where for a time the old ritual and the popular Psalmody were intermingled.<sup>95</sup> The *Chronique du Langon* relates how the curé Moquet accommodated the services to the new taste for congregational Psalm-singing; <sup>96</sup> and at Valence, the bishop, Montluc, whose heart was perhaps with the Protestants, was accused of allowing them to sing their Psalms in the nave, even while he was saying mass in the choir.<sup>97</sup> It

<sup>93</sup> *Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Histoire du Protest.*, vol. v, p. 90: See Bovet, pp. 53, 54.

<sup>94</sup> *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. i, p. 90: quoted by Bayle, *Dictionary* (art. "Marot"): and see Baird, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 314, 315.

<sup>95</sup> Bovet, p. 55.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 56.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56, note.

was he who at the Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau in 1560, supported the plea for toleration made by the Protestants, henceforward to be known as Huguenots.<sup>98</sup> He demanded that the ban upon Psalm-singing be lifted, and that the singing of Psalms and daily preaching of the Word be introduced into the king's palace as an example to the whole nation. "To prohibit the singing of Psalms, which the Fathers extol," Montluc urged, "would be to give the seditious a good pretext for saying that the war was waged not against men, but against God, inasmuch as the publication and the hearing of His praises were not tolerated."<sup>99</sup> The spirit of concession advanced so far in this particular direction that the young king Charles IX and the Queen Mother, with other officers of Church and State, united in a memorial praying that the singing of Psalms in the vulgar tongue be introduced into all the churches of France, and this they placed in the hands of the Cardinal of Lorraine for presentation to the Council of Trent.<sup>100</sup>

In reality no compromise of any sort between the Church and the Protestants was at all practicable. This became evident at the Colloquy of Poissy in the autumn of 1561, where Beza, who had been recalled to France, appeared as the leader and spokesman of the Huguenot delegation. But it became also evident, in view of the number of the Protestants and the friends they had gained at court, that there must be for a time some cessation of the hitherto relentless policy of repression and extermination. The Reformed cause had won a temporary footing in France. Beza had now finished his translation of the Psalms, and took advantage of the situation to secure on October 16, 1561, its approbation by the examiners.<sup>101</sup> The royal "privilege" for the publication of "*tous les Pseaumes du Prophete David, traduits à la verité Hebraïque, & mis en rime Française & bonne Musique,*" was

<sup>98</sup> W. Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, Eng. tr., vol. iii, p. 193.

<sup>99</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 418, 419.

<sup>100</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 571.

<sup>101</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 564.

executed on October 29th, and issued on December 26, 1561.<sup>102</sup> It vested the sole right to print the Psalms for a term of ten years in Antoine Vincent, a publisher of Lyons who had embraced the Reformed faith.

The long-pent-up eagerness of many to read and to own the Psalms at once expressed itself in a demand for the new Psalter that must have been unprecedented in the annals of French printing, and which is very striking even now. Vincent farmed out his right among numerous applicants, and "a veritable avalanche of Psalters" covered France, Switzerland and the Pays-Bas. Twenty-five editions are known to have appeared within 1562, the year of first publication. In Geneva itself there were nine editions, or rather issues, bearing the imprint of six different printing houses; seven editions at Paris, three at Lyons, one at St. Loo, and five that bear no indication of the place of issue. Fifteen editions of 1563 are known, eleven of 1564 and thirteen of 1565: a total of sixty-four issues within four years of publication.<sup>103</sup>

#### IX. THE PSALMODY OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF FRANCE.

The *Genevan Psalter*, words and tunes, became the authorized praise book of "The Reformed Churches of France." With the organization of French Protestants into congregations with regular worship and administration of sacraments, the singing of Psalms was everywhere a recognized feature of the cultus. In 1559 these congregations ventured to hold a general synod at Paris, adopting a confession of faith of the Genevan type, and effecting their church organization

<sup>102</sup> Certificate in edition of 1564.

<sup>103</sup> The fullest list is in Douen, vol. ii, bibliographie: a few issues then unknown have since turned up. The first edition of the completed Psalter seems to have been that printed at Geneva for Antoine Vincent, whose title has already been given. No doubt the numerous Genevan editions of 1562 were issued mainly to meet the demand from France. There is some variance in the title of the 1562 editions; a few appearing as *Les Pseaumes de David*; a few more as *Les cent et cinquante* (or *CL.*) *Pseaumes de David*. The names of Marot and Beza appear in all.



under the Presbyterian form. The order of worship adopted was that of Calvin's *La forme des prieres*. In the church discipline formulated at the first and subsequent synods, Psalmody was given constitutional recognition. Of chapter x, "of Religious Exercises performed in the Assemblies of the Faithful," canon ii reads:

"Singing of God's praises being a divine Ordinance, and to be performed in the Congregations of the Faithful, and for that by the use of *Psalms* their hearts be comforted and strengthened; Every one shall be advertised to bring with them their Psalm-Books unto those Assemblies, and such as through contempt of this holy Ordinance do forbear the having of them, shall be censured, as also those, who in time of singing, both before and after sermon, are not uncovered, as also when the Holy Sacraments are Celebrated." <sup>104</sup>

The gesture of outward respect and the individual Psalm books here inculcated became characteristic of the Reformed Psalmody in general. The little books containing the words and notes, brought forth from his garments by every member of the congregation at the announcement of the Psalm, were remarked as a striking feature by more than one observer of the early Reformed worship; the token of each believer's active part in the exercises.<sup>105</sup>

The singing by the congregation, led by a precentor, was without instrumental accompaniment. The Psalms were sung in their order, and the practice was to sing right through the Psalter from beginning to end, without selection or omission, within a given period. Before leaving Geneva Bourgeois devised a table distributing the Psalms into suitable portions, and from which the Psalm or Psalms appointed for the day could be determined. For this he was rewarded by the Council, and printed copies of the table were ordered to be posted in the churches.<sup>106</sup> Such tables of distribution of the Psalms came frequently to be printed in the Psalm books,

<sup>104</sup> Quick, *Synodicon*, vol. i, p. xliii.

<sup>105</sup> See Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 490, and Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church*, N. Y., 1902, p. 361.

<sup>106</sup> See Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 515.

and where the end of the daily portion came before the ending of the Psalm itself, the point of division was indicated by the word "PAUSE." No thought of any discrimination in the use of the Psalms was in the minds of either the framers or the early users of the French Psalter, or was required by the robust faith of the sixteenth century.

To the early French Protestants the Psalm book was a unit—the Word of God in the personal possession of the humblest, the symbol as well as the vehicle of their new privilege of personal communion with God. To know the Psalms became a primary duty; and the singing of Psalms became the Reformed cultus, the characteristic note distinguishing its worship from that of the Roman Catholic Church.

The familiar use of Psalms in worship only emphasized the power of their appeal to the individual experience, and made Psalmody as much a part of the daily life as of public worship. The family in the home, men and women at their daily tasks, were recognized as Huguenots because they were heard singing Psalms. The Psalter became to them the manual of the spiritual life. It ingrained its own characteristics deep in the Huguenot character, and had a great part in making it what it was. A character nourished and fed by Old Testament ideals must inevitably have the defects of its qualities. But to the Huguenot, called to fight and suffer for his principles, the habit of Psalm singing was a providential preparation. The Psalms were his confidence and strength in quiet and solitude, his refuge from oppression; in the wars of religion they became the songs of the camp and the march, the inspiration of the battle and the consolation in death, whether on the field or at the martyr's stake. It is not possible to conceive of the history of the Reformation in France in such a way that Psalm singing should not have a great place in it.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>107</sup> For ample illustration of this phase of the subject consult Douen, chap. i, "Rôle du Psautier dans l'église réformée"; Bovet, chaps. vi, ix; and B. E. Prothero, *The Psalms in Human Life*, London and New York, 1903, chaps. vii, viii, "The Huguenots."

Under such conditions the inextinguishable hatred of the Genevan Psalter felt by the enemies of the Reformation is easily understood; and the peculiar vindictiveness with which Psalm singing was proscribed and hunted out and punished<sup>108</sup> becomes natural to the point of view. The Roman Catholic position was that Psalms inspired by the Holy Ghost and committed to the church, were not to be rashly put forth for promiscuous use by the people in connection with secular surroundings and thoughts. They should be reserved for the holy offices and congenial surroundings of the established worship, and confined to the utterance of holy persons thereto appointed. It is worthy of note that even to a contemporary skeptic, Montaigne, this position seemed not only reasonable but profitable. He says:

“It is not without very good reason, in my opinion, that the church interdicts the promiscuous indiscreet, and irreverent use of the holy and divine psalms, with which the Holy Ghost inspired King David. We ought not to mix God in our actions, but with the highest reverence and caution; that poesy is too holy to be put to no other use than to exercise the lungs and to delight our ears; it ought to come from the conscience and not from the tongue. It is not fit that a prentice in his shop, among his vain and frivolous thoughts, should be permitted to pass away his time and divert himself with such sacred things. Neither is it decent to see the Holy Book of the holy mysteries of our belief tumbled up and down a hall or a kitchen; they were formerly mysteries, but are now become sports and recreations.”<sup>109</sup>

To these objections against Psalm singing in private life Church writers alleged others equally strong against congregational Psalmody. They fouled the memory of Marot as its author, and ridiculed the Psalm tunes as carnal songs; they accused the young men and maidens of singing to each other rather than to God, and contended that the efforts of an ordinary congregation were not endurable as a musical performance. In spite of the atmosphere of contempt thus thrown around Psalmody by its opponents, and in spite of

<sup>108</sup> Consult Bovet, pp. 126 ff, and note viii, “Arrêts contre le chant des Psaumes.”

<sup>109</sup> *Essays*, book i, chap. lvi, tr. by Cotton.

continued legislation, penalty, persecution and death visited upon the singers by the church authorities, the new Psalmody covered France, spread from country to country, and was transplanted into the new world as an established institute of Reformed worship.

#### X. CALVIN: HIS RELATIONS TO METRICAL PSALMODY AND CHURCH MUSIC.

Behind this whole movement—the establishment of Psalm singing in French Switzerland, its spread through France and the other countries in Europe—stands the great figure of John Calvin. There is no more difficulty in assigning the leadership to him than in assigning to Luther the leadership in establishing hymn singing in Germany and its spread from there into other Lutheran countries. From this point, indeed, the two figures stand as independent sources, from which flow two parallel streams of Protestant church song—the Lutheran Hymnody on the one hand and the Reformed Metrical Psalmody on the other. And the streams were not to be fully united till after two centuries had passed. They are not in fact merged into unity even to-day, when the Calvinistic precedent of Psalm singing still furnishes the ground for maintaining denominational integrity among exclusive Psalm singers.

Calvin's work thus becomes of great import to Psalmody, and marks an epoch in the history of the Hymn. Calvin did not, of course, invent or even introduce the metrical Psalm. Metrical Psalms were by no means excluded from Lutheran Hymnody. But the Lutheran Psalm was in motive a hymn rather than a version of Scripture. It might be literal, and, on the other hand, might give merely a suggestion of the subject or manner of some canonical Psalm. But the Calvinistic Psalm took its authority and its appropriateness from its divine inspiration. It must be Holy Scripture, first of all; and then it became metrical merely to facilitate its congregational rendering. Calvin had determined to make the Psalter the praise book of the Reformed Church, and to that

end never rested till the praise book was complete. The excellence of that praise book, both literary and musical, carried Metrical Psalmody through France by its own impulse; and the Genevan tunes spread Metrical Psalmody more widely through Europe. Calvin's great authority made Geneva the center of the Reformed world, and the Genevan Psalmody became the inspiration and the model for the Reformed Churches in England and Scotland. In this process of extension the practice of singing metrical Psalms hardened into the rigidity of an established custom. The Calvinistic precedent became the Calvinistic principle; the metrical Psalm became the norm and rule of praise throughout the whole Reformed Church, to the virtual exclusion of all hymns of human composition.

It becomes, therefore, of interest to discover just what were Calvin's own views as to the proper subject-matter of praise. And these should be taken from his own words. Calvin's choice of the canonical Psalms, and his ignoring of the Latin hymns of the church, was, of course, in accord with his views of the supremacy of Scripture in worship and his complete indifference to such liturgical stores as the church had accumulated since primitive times. He wished to get back to primitive simplicity, and his establishment of congregational singing rested upon his conviction that it was an apostolic institute of which the people had been unjustly deprived;<sup>110</sup> the Latin hymn indeed being the very instrument by which the deprivation had been effected. At the same time Calvin is not to be counted among those who before and after him maintained the exclusive right of the Psalms or the hymns of Scripture as the only divinely authorized subject-matter of praise. Such a view demands the interpretation of the "Psalms, hymns and spiritual songs" in Ephesians, 5:19, and Colossians 3:16, as being merely different names for canonical Psalms. Calvin's exegesis is quite different. In his *Commentary on Colossians* he holds that under these terms St. Paul includes "all kinds of song," and

<sup>110</sup> *Institutio*, Bk. iii, chap. xx, § 32.

adds the word "spiritual" to indicate that he would have Christian songs to be of that character, and not made up of frivolities and worthless trifles. The choice, then, before the church is very wide, and why from among all these songs Calvin himself chose the Psalms for his church at Geneva clearly appears from his preface of 1542-43. After referring to the need of songs that are pure and holy, and the need of receiving from God Himself power to write songs worthy of Him, he adds:

"Wherefore, when we have sought on every side, searching here and there, we shall find no songs better and more suitable for our purpose than the Psalms of David, dictated to him and made for him by the Holy Spirit. But singing them ourselves we feel as certain that God put the words into our mouths as if He Himself were singing within us to exalt His glory." And again: "Only let the world be well-advised, that instead of the songs partly vain and frivolous, partly dull and foolish, partly filthy and vile, and consequently wicked and hurtful, which it has hitherto used, it should accustom itself hereafter to sing these divine and heavenly songs with good King David."<sup>121</sup>

Calvin here offers his Psalter to the church, and commends it to the world on account of its divine excellency. His words convey no implication of any divine prescription, and might have been uttered by any Psalm-loving Lutheran. It was, moreover, quite foreign to Calvin's mind to set up a formula of praise, or to find any efficacy in the use of it as prescribed. "Neither words nor singing," he said in his *Institutio*,<sup>112</sup> "are of the least consequence or avail one iota with God unless they proceed from deep feeling in the heart."

It was not merely the example of Calvin, but also the conditions of the time, that kept the Reformed Churches to the Psalter. They found in it a well opened in the desert, from which they drew consolation under persecution, strength to resist valiantly the enemies of their faith; with the assured

<sup>121</sup> *Opera*, vi, 171, 172.

<sup>122</sup> Book iii, chap. xx, § 31.

conviction that God was fighting for them, and also (it must be added) would be revenged against their foes. There was at the same time an inevitable narrowing and loss involved in the drying up of those springs of spiritual song, which come from within the heart itself; and a greater loss in so far as the lyrics of an earlier dispensation hindered the fullness of Gospel song from reaching the heart. Even in Calvin's time there was criticism that Marot and Beza's Psalms did not recognize the fulfillment of prophetic Psalmody in Christ.

Both the spirit and the method of Calvin's work in Psalmody have been greatly disparaged by modern students, and it is worth while to inquire if they have accorded deliberate justice. M. Douen, in his *Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*, has done more than anyone else to elucidate the origins of the Calvinistic Psalmody; and yet he brings to his researches a rigid preconception of Calvin's personality to which all that he discovers in the record, and much besides, not discernible there, is forced to contribute. To M. Douen, Marot not unjustly represents the modern spirit and Bourgeois the art of music. Opposed to them stands Calvin as "the type of dogmatism imposed by authority, antiliberal, antiartistic, antihumane and antichristian."<sup>113</sup>

According to M. Douen, Calvin made use of the poet and musician as long as they consented to work in subjection to his despotic will. But when the poet failed in entire conformity to Calvin's rule of life, and the musician ventured to arrange harmonies to the Psalm melodies in disregard of Calvin's wishes, Calvin turned against both. He regarded "their independence as a revolt against God himself,"<sup>114</sup> disregarded their unique services and treated them with negligent disdain,<sup>115</sup> until they were compelled to leave Geneva, the victims of Calvin's "rancour."<sup>116</sup> It can hardly

<sup>113</sup> Vol. i, p. 387.

<sup>114</sup> i, 663.

<sup>115</sup> ii, 9, and *passim*.

<sup>116</sup> i, 663.

be claimed that this alleged hostility of Calvin to his co-laborers rests on any sure basis of evidence. Several instances of Calvin's kindly regard for them and his intervention in their behalf have already been cited. It may be noted that in Bourgeois' case Calvin's interventions continued for several years subsequent to the date of his publication in 1547 of the *Psalms à quatre parties*; to which publication Calvin had in all probability no objection, the harmonies not being designed for use in church services. M. Douen's charges, which color his whole work, are to be regarded rather as hypothetical; as what must inevitably have happened when his preconceived Calvin was confronted with the modern spirit and the feeling for art. Even were they true in whole or in part they would not change or even affect the results of Calvin's work for congregational song. They would only cause regret that a work so successful and wide-reaching could have been prosecuted in a spirit so malevolent.

But the side of Calvin's work which has subjected it to the most widespread criticism and even condemnation is the musical side. This criticism has been directed against the *Genevan Psalmody* itself on the ground that it reduced congregational song to its most rudimentary form, in that all the people sang the melody in unison without accompaniment and without other leadership than that of a precentor. But criticism has gone much further than this, because the question raised by the *Genevan Psalter* is much broader than any relating merely to the method of administering the ordinance of congregational praise. It is the question of what part music is to have in worship; and the *Genevan Psalter* proposes an answer to this question by offering Psalmody in lieu of all other forms of church music. For it must be acknowledged that the *Genevan Psalter* embodies Calvin's ideals and expresses Calvin's whole purpose in regard to the proper function of music in church worship. In his liturgical scheme for the Reformed Church, music had no other place than that of furnishing melodies for singing the metrical Psalms.



The mere statement of the fact thus acknowledged constitutes the gravamen of the main charge laid against Calvin by historians of the art of music. One of the latest of these, Mr. Louis C. Elson, will serve as a sufficient instance. Having referred to Luther as "an ardent musician, who desired to approach the beauty of the Catholic ritual in the music of the Protestant Church," he proceeds to say:

"At the other extreme we find John Calvin, a bitter opponent of the fine arts, a man who desired that the music of the church might attract no attention to itself, but merely become a peg whereon to hang the rhythmic recitation of the Psalms."<sup>117</sup>

Mr. Elson's presentation of the critical attitude will serve our present purpose, because, though unguarded and unsympathetic, it approaches more nearly than most to the actual facts. But his designation of Calvin requires much qualification. In Calvin's writings certainly there is nothing entitling anyone to call him an opponent of the fine arts. He dealt with them appreciatively, and his numerous references to them are thoroughly consistent. We may take as typical his dealing with Jubal, the inventor of the harp and organ, in the earliest reference to art in the Scriptures. Calvin calls Jubal's art faculty a rare endowment, an excellent gift, so much of good amid the evil proceeding from the family of Cain, an evidence of God's bounty in diffusing the excellent gifts of the Holy Spirit through the whole human race.<sup>118</sup> "All the arts," Calvin says, "come from God and are to be esteemed as inventions of God."<sup>119</sup> Calvin's theology found room for the artistic endowment of the human race under his doctrine of "common grace," and his scheme of life found room for the liberal arts; they are to minister to our pleasure and comfort, and are to be used as God's gifts and to His praise.

<sup>117</sup> *The National Music of America*, Boston, 1900, p. 18.

<sup>118</sup> *Commentaries on Genesis*, iv, 20.

<sup>119</sup> *Commentaries on Exodus*, xxi, 2.

Calvin was not, then, in theory at least, hostile to the arts. But was he, nevertheless, hostile or even indifferent to the specific art of music? According to Dr. Henry Allon:—

“Calvin was utterly destitute of musical sensibility, as every page of his works and every element of his character indicate; he was too much of a theological formula to have much of the genius of song. And this unhappy defect has deprived his writings of the broad human sympathy which characterizes Luther’s, and has entailed upon all the churches that bear his name such musical asceticism and poverty.”<sup>120</sup>

It is true that Calvin was no musician as Luther was, and that being undeveloped on the musical side, he failed of the full understanding that comes by participation. But in warmth of sympathy and appreciation he failed not at all:—  
“Among other things which are suitable for men’s recreation and for giving them pleasure, music is either the foremost, or, at least, must be esteemed one of the most prominent; and we must esteem it a gift of God to us with that purpose.”<sup>121</sup> “We doubt if there is any thing in this world which can more powerfully turn or bend hither and thither the morals of men.”<sup>122</sup> As to his own “sensibility,” Calvin has testified: “Our own experience shows a secret and almost incredible power of music to move hearts one way or the other.”<sup>123</sup>

Throughout his writings Calvin recognizes music as a divinely appointed instrument to enrich and ennoble life and even to minister legitimately to the entertainment of the masses; and this with no other restrictions than would be insisted upon by anyone of an equal ethical seriousness.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>120</sup> “Church-Song” in *Lectures before Y. M. C. A. in Exeter Hall*, 1861-1862. London, n. d., p. 304.

<sup>121</sup> Preface of 1543.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Comm. on Genesis*, ut supra. Compare Abr. Kuyper, *Calvinism*, N. Y., etc., n. d. [1899], pp. 206 ff, and Doumergue, vol. ii, chap. iv, 1st part.

It is true, nevertheless, that Calvin opposed any encroachment of the fine art of music within the sphere of worship; that he wished, in Mr. Elson's phrase, "that the music of the church might attract no attention to itself," and should be employed only in strictest subordination to the ends of spiritual edification and the glorifying of God. The end of æsthetic gratification had with him no relation at all to worship. Worship is the response of heart and mind to the Word of God. Its outward actions should have dignity and grace, but not adornment.<sup>125</sup> The attempt to adorn it with the music of the organ is foolish. Things without life giving sound are incapable of understanding, without which there is no praise. The organ music of the Papal Church was imitated from the Jewish, in which instrumental music was tolerated because God dealt with the Jews as with spiritual children needing to be entertained.<sup>126</sup> The tongue is the special instrument by which God's praise is to be declared and proclaimed, and that by singing as well as speaking.<sup>127</sup> "If singing is tempered to a gravity befitting the presence of God and angels, it both gives dignity and grace to sacred actions, and has a very powerful tendency to stir up the mind to true zeal and ardor in prayer."<sup>128</sup>

The singing thus favored is that of the body of believers, "proceeding from deep feeling in the heart"; the singing of a choir, whether on behalf of the people or to them, finding no recognition or place. The whole range of art forms in which music can reach the congregation only by impressing them as auditors was excluded. And even, in congregational singing, "we must carefully beware, lest our ears be more intent on the music than our minds on the spiritual meaning of the words."<sup>129</sup> Augustine had

<sup>125</sup> *Institutio*, Book iii, ch. xx, § 32.

<sup>126</sup> *Homilia in I Lib. Samuel* cap. xviii. *Opera*, xxx, 259. Doumergue's effort (vol. ii, p. 521) to show that Calvin may have had merely the abuse of the organ in mind is hardly successful.

<sup>127</sup> *Institutio*, Book iii, ch. xx, § 31.

<sup>128</sup> *Institutio*, Book iii, ch. xx, § 32.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

been so conscious of the encroachment of sensuous charm upon spirituality in the church Psalmody of his time as to consider the expediency of having the Psalms rendered merely by a modulated recitation.<sup>130</sup> Calvin, with the same end in view, did not go so far. He provided a full repertory of grave yet beautiful melodies, but he arranged that in worship they should be sung in unison by all, disregarding the harmonic parts. M. Douen characteristically attempts to show <sup>131</sup> that Calvin's objection to four-part singing in worship was merely an item of his antipathy to beauty, and quotes the following passage from the *Institutio*:

"The songs and melodies which are composed to please the ear only, *as are all the fringots and quaverings of Papistry, and all which they call trained music, and tunes in four parts*, are by no means suitable to the majesty of the church, and cannot be otherwise than greatly displeasing to God."

But the words here printed in italics are not Calvin's. They occur only in the French version of 1560.<sup>132</sup> They are one of numerous glosses added to the text by the hand of an unknown translator, and there is no reason to believe that they even passed under Calvin's eye.<sup>133</sup> Calvin's objection to employing four-part song in worship was simply the fear that attention to the music might divert the mind from the words.

It would be idle to attempt to reconcile Calvin's canons of worship with a theory of art for art's sake. If his temperament had been artistic, his canons would in all probability have been different; certainly their application would have been less severe.

And yet one who will try to put himself in Calvin's situa-

<sup>130</sup> *Confessions*, Book x, ch. 33.

<sup>131</sup> Vol. ii, p. 375.

<sup>132</sup> Book iii, ch. xx, § 32. *Opera*, vol. iv, 420.

<sup>133</sup> Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 520. Compare B. B. Warfield, "The Literary History of Calvin's 'Institutes,'" *Pres. and Refd. Review*, April, 1899, p. 209.

tion is not likely to feel that he was playing the part of a music hater or of a mere iconoclast. Facing on one side the religious music of his time he found nothing except the venerable system of Gregorian plain-chant as used in the old Church. It was historically and inextricably interwoven with the doctrines and ceremonies which the Reformation had renounced. It was a music removed from the people with a curious ingenuity—so complicated that they could not have performed it if permitted, and in fact kept entirely in the hands of an official class, set exclusively to words of a foreign tongue the people could not understand, and, when performed in their hearing, probably heard with dull indifference by a people whose natural taste it did not appeal to and whom no one had cared to train to an appreciation of it. Facing the music of the people he found it rude and untaught, but left free to flow in more natural channels and to mingle with life. He found it also contaminated by the contact, fouled by the impurities of life and degraded to become too often the instrument of immodesty and the inciter of dissoluteness.

In a similar situation Luther resolved to provide religious songs for the people, and also to conserve the interest of plain song in Protestant worship. In the first resolution he succeeded and in the second he failed. Calvin set his heart on fashioning the Word of God itself into songs for the people, and he turned his back upon the traditional ecclesiastical music, making popular song a part of the cultus of a democratic church. Those who condemn him for the latter course have not yet shown just how Calvin could have succeeded where Luther failed, or how the Gregorian music should have adapted itself to express Calvin's ideals and to extend his Reformation. They seem to imply a neglected opportunity to organize and maintain a full musical establishment at Geneva, where, in fact, he struggled to introduce music at all, and could not wrest from the Council a living wage for his single precentor. They fail on the one hand to give Calvin credit for providing a popular song that stirred the heart of nations, and they neglect on the other to record the

services of his musical associates to the development of the modern art of music.<sup>134</sup>

It must be remembered also that the iconoclastic side of the changes at Geneva did not fall to Calvin's hands. All that pertained to Roman ceremonial had been swept away before his coming. The practical question was not how much of the Roman worship he should retain, but whether he should follow Zwingli's lead in renouncing all religious use of music in worship. So that Calvin's work in establishing congregational song was a purely constructive work. His critics should begin by giving him credit for his purpose to restore music to a place in Reformed worship, in which prior to his coming it had no place at all. And even though the spiritual triumphs of the new Psalmody be accounted as beyond the ken of the musical critic, he ought in fairness to acknowledge the loving care given to secure its musical excellence within its admittedly narrow limits. That Professor Dickinson, in his *Music in the History of the Western Church*,<sup>135</sup> should devote so much space to the Lutheran chorals, and dismiss the Genevan melodies with a reference to them "as unemotional unison tunes," suggests that the demands of fairness are not always complied with. It might, moreover, be argued that in having the melodies sung in unison Calvin consulted the best interests of congregational song. Both the plain song and the Lutheran Hymnody furnished ample precedent for his course, of which his own very competent musicians seem to have approved, as have many since.<sup>136</sup>

Whether for good or for ill the musical ideals and example of Calvin long dominated the worship of the Reformed Churches. He must be held responsible, without doubt, for what Dr. Allon, in the lecture already referred to, describes as "the musical asceticism and poverty" of "all the churches that bear his name."<sup>137</sup> But Dr. Allon surely goes

<sup>134</sup> On this last point consult Kuyper, *Calvinism*, pp. 226-230.

<sup>135</sup> New York, 1902, p. 362.

<sup>136</sup> Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 519. Bovet, p. 67.

<sup>137</sup> *Exeter Hall Lectures*, 1861-1862, p. 304.

rather far in holding Calvin responsible for the indifference and neglect into which the performance of Psalmody afterwards fell in more than one branch of the Reformed Church. He goes on to say:

“In no Calvinistic country—American, Scotch, Dutch, and, so far as it is Calvinistic, English—is there a church-song. The musical Luther has filled Germany with rich church-hymnody: the unmusical Calvin has so impoverished Puritan and Presbyterian worship, that the rugged, inartistic, slovenly psalmody has become a by-word and a needless repulsion; for surely there is no piety in discords, nor any special devoutness in slovenliness; our nature craves something better than the traditional psalm-singing of the inharmonious meeting-house.”

Now Calvin did in fact provide a church song for France, and provision for its continued well-being was made in all the colleges established by his influence, in each of which music and training in Psalm singing constituted a part of the curriculum, with regularly allotted hours in every week's calendar.<sup>188</sup> Presumably, therefore, what Dr. Allon means is that Calvin's principle of severing worship from the fine art side of music tended ultimately toward complete musical indifference and consequent slovenliness in the performance of Psalmody. And, if the matter is so stated, the tendency in that untoward direction may be freely admitted, provided that Calvin be not held responsible for the fact that the people of the Netherlands and Scotland, and other lands into which his doctrine spread, had less musical sensibility and gift than the countrymen of Luther.

In the course of time the constraint of Calvin's ideals has gradually come to be less felt in the worship of the Reformed Churches. A modification of view as to the relations of art and worship has permitted the harmonization of congregational song, its instrumental accompaniment, and also the introduction of the music of impression whether of the choir or organ. On the other hand, the free spirit of evangelism has brought within the sanctity of worship the light and

<sup>188</sup> See Doumergue, vol. ii, p. 513.

frivolous melody which Calvin would have repudiated as "unbecoming the majesty of the church and displeasing to God." But through all changes there continues to be felt in all Reformed Churches the force of his insistence upon congregational praise still asserting itself against the encroachments of choir music, and the restraining hand of his ideal of art held strictly in subjection to spiritual ends.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

NOTE.—The study of the Psalmody of the Calvinistic Reformation ends here; but it is proposed to add an appendix tracing the decline of Psalmody in French-speaking churches.



## SOME PHILADELPHIA PAROCHIAL ORIGINS.

### **NEW CHURCH IN SOUTHWARK.**

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At a meeting of Citizens, friendly to the erection of a Presbyterian Church in Southwark, held at DR. WILSON'S Church on the 8th of June, 1825,

JOHN STILLE, Esq. *Chairman*,  
S. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

The object of the meeting having been stated, it was

*Resolved*, as the sense of this meeting, that a suitable house of worship ought to be erected for the accommodation of the first Presbyterian Church of Southwark, and that this meeting do cordially recommend this measure to the christian liberality of the Citizens of Philadelphia.

*Resolved* that the Sessions of the respective Presbyterian Churches in this City and liberties, be respectfully requested to adopt measures for obtaining subscriptions to this object in their several Congregations.

*Resolved* that Messrs A. WHITE, J. KERR and S. ALLEN, be a Committee to aid the Trustees in obtaining Subscriptions to this object.

Adjourned to meet on the 15th instant at 5 o'clock, at the same place.

JOHN STILLE, *Chairman*,  
S. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

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An opportunity will be presented on the 15th inst. (the day to which the above meeting stands adjourned) to all who desire to do good to Zion, and who believe that Zion's King will require an account of their stewardship from his subjects, to render essential service to the inhabitants of Southwark. Let the injunction "Bear ye one another's burdens

and so fulfil the law of love," be remembered, and its authority recognized by those to whom God has committed the care and custody of his silver and gold, and the "walls shall be built," and that speedily, and "his word shall go forth from the sanctuary." Let all who can minister to the necessities of the saints, who desire to gather in the outcasts, and to sanctify the Sabbaths of this city, attend, and give to this object as the Lord hath prospered them.

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"The pulpit  
 "Must stand acknowledged, while the world shall stand,  
 "The most important and effectual guard.  
 "Support and ornament of virtue's cause."

*From "The Philadelphian" for June 10, 1825.*

#### COHOCKSINK CHURCH.

The village of Cohocksink, is situated in the northern suburbs of Philadelphia, on the Germantown Turnpike, from Fourth to Seventh street. This village, until lately, was in a great measure destitute of Gospel privileges; and as is usually the case in such circumstances, the great mass of the people were indifferent to the blessings of the Gospel.

The preaching, which eventually gave rise to the Presbyterian congregation in this place, commenced about the beginning of the summer of 1839. It originated with an association in the village, called the *Cohocksink Mechanics Institute*, which met weekly for mutual, literary improvement. The Institute appointed a committee to procure preaching on the Sabbath, in the afternoon and evening. The services of clergymen of various denominations was accordingly obtained, and a few people assembled on the Sabbath.

The *Central Presbyterian Church* of the city of Philadelphia, impressed with a sense of their obligation, to do something for the supply of the spiritual necessities of the destitute in the suburbs of the city, had for some time, by a committee, been seeking a place, in which to operate. Providentially in the latter part of July, 1839, a member of the Cohocksink Institute called upon the pastor of the Central

Church to inquire for a preacher for the next Sabbath. This circumstance led the pastor with two of the elders of the Central Church, on the next day, to visit Cohocksink, to gain information respecting it as a field for Missionary labour. The information obtained was communicated to those in the Central Church, who had embarked in the enterprize of endeavouring to establish the Gospel somewhere in the suburbs of the city. After more inquiry, Cohocksink was selected as the place in which to make the effort to gather a congregation, and the Institute building was hired for worship on the Sabbath.

In the kind Providence of God, whose hand has been signally visible in this enterprize, in every stage of it, the committee of the Central Church, appointed to procure a Missionary, were directed to Mr. Griffith Owen, then a student of the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Mr. Owen came on the invitation, and preached a Sabbath; and the committee finding that his preaching was acceptable to the people, he was engaged for six months. As Mr. Owen wished to continue his studies in Princeton through the winter, he agreed to be at Cohocksink only on the Sabbath, intending to spend the rest of his time in pursuing his studies in Princeton.

He commenced preaching in Cohocksink on the first Sabbath of December, 1839. On the same day a Sabbath-school was commenced under very encouraging circumstances. A number of persons, male and female, belonging to the village, came forward as teachers, and the school opened with *sixty-seven* scholars.

Mr. Owen continued for a few weeks to come on Saturday, preach on the Sabbath, and return to Princeton on Monday. But it was soon found that the Lord had more work for him to do, than he could thus accomplish. After a few weeks he felt it to be his duty to leave Princeton, and devote his whole time to the people of Cohocksink. The number of attendants on public worship rapidly increased; and in the middle of winter, the Institute building was enlarged, at an expense to the Central Church of one hundred and forty dollars. But still it was found too small for the accommodation of all those who manifested a desire to attend. The children of the

Sabbath-school had to leave the house, whenever the people assembled for worship.

Very soon after Mr. Owen entered on his labours, the Lord signally manifested his presence among the people, and a number were hopefully born into the kingdom of Christ. The Presbytery of Philadelphia, on application, appointed a committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. John M'Dowell, Dr. Cornelius C. Cuyler, and Mr. Joseph B. Mitchell, an elder of the Central church, to organize a church in Cohocksink, if they should judge the way prepared. This committee met several times, and examined applicants; and on the 2d Sabbath in March, (8th day) they organized a church, consisting of *thirty-seven* members, twelve of them on certificate, and twenty-five on examination. At the same time, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. There have been three communions since; the last was on the first Sabbath in the present month, just a year from the time Mr. Owen commenced his labours. The number of church members now amounts to *sixty-four*. Forty-five of them have been received on examination, and nineteen on certificate. The number of scholars now belonging to the Sabbath school, is about two hundred and forty. Soon after the organization of the church, the people formed themselves into a congregation, and elected Trustees; and a call was made on Mr. Owen to become their pastor, which call he accepted; and he was ordained to the work of the ministry, and installed pastor of the congregation, by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, on the 22d day of April last. On that occasion, Rev. Henry A. Boardman preached the sermon, Dr. McDowell presided, made the ordaining prayer, and gave the charge to the Pastor; and Dr. Cuyler gave the charge to the people.

Measures were soon after taken by the Trustees, to erect a house of worship. A lot was purchased for twenty-five hundred dollars, subject to an annual ground rent of forty dollars; of which sum the owner presented five hundred dollars. This lot is sixty feet wide, by about three hundred and fifty feet deep, having two fronts, one on the Germantown turnpike, and the other on Sixth street. The Trustees be-

lieve that, by judicious management, enough can be spared from the lot, to pay the original cost of the whole, except the annual ground rent.

On the 16th day of July, the corner stone of the church edifice was laid, with religious solemnities, in presence of a large assembly of people. On this occasion, the introductory prayer was offered by Mr. Owen. Addresses were delivered by the Rev. Dr. McDowell, and Samuel H. Perkins, Esq. A brief history of the church was read by Daniel Fitler, Esq., President of the Board of Trustees, and, together with certain pamphlets and newspapers, were by him deposited in the corner stone; and the ceremony of laying the corner stone was then performed by Dr. McDowell, who concluded the solemnities with prayer.

The dimensions of the building are seventy feet in length, and forty-three in breadth. This building has been finished in a neat style, and was opened, and dedicated to the worship of God, on the 4th day of December, inst. A large audience was present; and the exercises were as follows: Introductory prayer, and reading the 132d and the 122d Psalms, by Mr. Owen, the pastor: dedicatory prayer by Dr. Cuyler, sermon by Dr. McDowell, from Psalm lxxxix. 15, last clause, "Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound;" and concluding prayer by the same.

The cost of the building at the time of its dedication, was \$6077. To meet this, the Central church has subscribed \$3364; the people of the congregation \$1475, and \$91 were collected at the dedication, making together \$4930; leaving a balance to be procured to meet the expenditure which has already been made, of \$1147. Completely to finish the Lecture-room in the basement story, and the exterior of the whole edifice, and to erect a cupola, and furnish it with a bell, which is contemplated, and to make the necessary fences, it is estimated will require an additional expenditure of \$1100. The same kind Providence, who has thus far most signally smiled upon this work, will, it is hoped, and believed, put it into the hearts of those who possess the means, promptly to contribute the necessary sum, and place this church in its commence-

ment, free of debt. In view of the preceding statement of facts, those who have been engaged in this enterprise have reason, with gratitude to say: "The Lord hath done great things for us." And the suggestion is respectfully made, whether God in his providence, by giving such signal success to this experiment, is not pointing individual churches which may be able, to attempt to make similar establishments, in some of the many destitute neighbourhoods in the suburbs of the city of Philadelphia. M.

*From "The Presbyterian" for December 19, 1840.*

#### ASSOCIATE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KENSINGTON.

*Messrs. Editors.*—During the last few months mention has been made several times in your columns of the Presbyterian church on Frankford Road above Franklin street, Kensington, Philadelphia, of which the Rev. W. O. Johnstone is the pastor elect. As, however, neither the Old nor New-school Presbyteries of Philadelphia show any thing of this church upon their records, and as the use of the term without any reference to its true application is calculated to give a wrong impression, it seems necessary to make the following statement of facts.

Up to the summer of 1844 there was not a Presbyterian church of any kind in the populous district of Kensington, with the exception of a New-school church under the Rev. George Chandler, in East Kensington, and an infant movement in Cohocksink, under the Rev. G. Owen. At that time a few individuals in the city, feeling deeply interested in the large number of persons in that district from the various Presbyterian families of Scotland and the north of Ireland, undertook to have them supplied with the means of grace according to the faith and usages of divine worship in their fatherland. The effort was successful, and soon afterward a church was organized, under promising circumstances, in connection with the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of New York, and energetic steps were taken for the erection, in an eligible spot, of a large and commodious house of worship. The whole work happily prospered until the Presbytery

was compelled, under painful circumstances, to institute processes of discipline against the pastor. At his suggestion the congregation then left the Associate Reformed Church, and after making a fruitless application to the Presbytery of Philadelphia (Old-school,) was at length admitted into another ecclesiastical body in New York. After some changes and trials the congregation, in the month of January last, began to consider the propriety of seeking a return to their original connection, and when, on the 4th of April, application was duly made, they were cordially received into the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Philadelphia, under whose care they have since been, in a prosperous and promising state. In September last they presented a very harmonious call to the Rev. W. O. Johnstone, who had recently joined the same Presbytery with themselves, on the faith of credentials from the First Presbytery of New York, (Old-school,) and entering at once, and with great faithfulness and zeal, upon his work, he has already been greatly blessed in his labours.

While, therefore, the congregation is *Presbyterian*, it is *Associate Reformed Presbyterian*—a body which was formed in this country by the union of the Associate (or Seceders) and the Reformed Presbyterian (or Covenanter) Churches in 1782, and whose leading peculiarities are, that in common with some sister Churches, it is built upon the platform of the Westminster Confession of Faith in doctrine and government, uses the Scripture Psalms in the worship of God, and in its eastern portions especially aims at doing good to the large numbers of emigrants from the different Presbyterian churches of Great Britain and Ireland.

A MEMBER OF THE PRESBYTERY OF PHILADELPHIA.

*From "The Presbyterian" for January 31, 1852.*

#### CONTEMPLATED CHURCH AT CHESTNUT HILL, PENNSYLVANIA.

*Messrs. Editors.*—Will you be kind enough to allow a stranger the liberty of giving, through the columns of the *Presbyterian*, a short and hasty sketch of what is doing here for the advancement of the interests of the Church? About

a year ago, the Rev. Roger Owen, a Presbyterian clergyman, opened a boarding-school among us, which has been gradually increasing in usefulness, and, in fact, which must continue to grow larger when once known by our city friends.

His advent among us was most opportune, as it encouraged us to put into action a design which had been cherished for years—the erection of a Presbyterian Church.

It may appear strange, that in a place like Chestnut Hill, settled principally by Presbyterians and Lutherans, the Baptist and Methodist brethren should have two very neat churches, while we are entirely destitute. But this arises from the fact, that our people long since aided in the erection of churches at Germantown, and, therefore, still have continued to attend worship there. However, of late years we find that instead of the rising generation walking so far, three miles, they attend those places of worship in their own neighbourhood, and thus we lose one after another.

Prior to this time we had doubts about maintaining the ministry, even if a church could be erected; but since the Rev. Mr. Owen has been among us, these doubts have been wholly dispelled, as he has proved himself fully competent to attend to the duties of his school, and at the same time minister to our spiritual wants. I merely state this fact to show, that if our church were erected, and we could not support a pastor for a few years, now is our time to build, as such an opportunity may not soon again occur.

Though it would be perfectly consistent to take advantage of this contingency, yet I sincerely believe, from what has been done the past year, that were the church built, we could easily support our pastor; and I have not the shadow of a doubt that after hearing it, you will agree with me.

Some little time after opening his school, it was announced that he would preach, if any persons were disposed to attend at the chapel, a building under the control of at least seven



different denominations, and situated some distance from the main street.

The first Sabbath afternoon but few attended, as no effort whatever was made to induce people to come. The next Sabbath afternoon a few more, and thus the meeting increased in number, and *very much in interest*, until several manifested a desire to have preaching on Sabbath mornings at his school-room. Mr. Owen, complying with their request, commenced preaching in the morning to those who seldom attended in the afternoon. This was another successful movement; for so great has been the attendance in the morning, as well as afternoon, that on last Sabbath morning his large school-room was scarcely large enough for the audience. All this has been done, too, without the *least effort* on the part of Mr. Owen; for it does seem to me that he is a little too modest about such things; but perhaps not, my zeal may outrun my prudence. We now have our regular Sabbath morning and afternoon services, besides our very *interesting prayer-meetings* on Wednesday evenings—interesting, because the attendance has been so large, even as high as seventy of an evening, at his house.

So favourable a time for the accomplishment of our purpose may not occur again; as, in addition to the above, the people are alive to the cause, and willing to work, which you may see from the following data:—Samuel Hildeburn, Esq., from the city, but now a resident of this place, has subscribed \$1500; his son William, \$1500; Dr. James Smith, \$250, and many others smaller amounts, on *condition* that Mr. Owen would *pledge* himself to raise \$1500.

As Mr. Owen must entirely depend upon the benevolent and charitable of your city for his subscription, it is earnestly hoped that when he calls, the friends will promptly and cheerfully contribute to forward this most laudable enterprise, and one which depends so much upon his success. One of the most beautiful sites on Chestnut Hill has been secured at a cost of \$1000, and the plans for the building all drawn, are now in the hands of the building committee; so you can perceive that we *need the assistance* of the friends

of our Redeemer, in order that we may raise the \$1500, and thus erect a neat little church, where Presbyterians can "praise God, from whom all blessings flow," and from whom all our comforts come.

H. K. S.

*Chestnut Hill, February 9th, 1852.*

*From "The Presbyterian" for February 21, 1852.*

#### FAIR FOR THE BELMONT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

*Messrs. Editors*—The ladies of the Belmont Presbyterian Church have now a sale of useful and fancy articles, at Judge Peters's mansion, near the Columbia Bridge, for the purpose of raising funds to aid in putting up their church edifice. The history of this interesting church is comparatively unknown among our denomination in the city. Preaching was commenced in the early part of last summer, in two places in the Twenty-fourth Ward, by Professor Saunders of West Philadelphia. One of these was in a small lecture-room south of the Lancaster road, about a mile and a half from the Market street bridge; the other was at Judge Peters's farm, near the head of the old inclined plane. Both of these neighbourhoods were entirely destitute of religious privileges. Professor Saunders' labours were given gratuitously, and somewhat as an experiment. The rooms used for worship were soon filled with regular attendants. Sabbath-schools were organized, and a few weeks ago "The Belmont Presbyterian Church" was organized by a committee of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. They have called a pastor, who has entered upon his labours. A gentleman with great liberality has given a very eligible lot, on Belmont Avenue, containing an acre of ground, as a site for a church. The sale of fancy and useful articles referred to above is to aid in raising funds to put up the edifice. We would ask for them the aid and countenance of the Presbyterians of Philadelphia. The fair will continue open for some weeks. Donations are solicited. Any articles left at the drug store of Mr. Andrew W. Gayley, corner of Chestnut and Eighteenth streets, or at the book-store of Mr. Joseph M. Wilson, corner of Ninth and Arch streets, will be for-

warded. The cars leave Broad and Callowhill streets every hour, for the foot of the plane. The steamboats from Fairmount run every half hour. The Belmont Avenue plank road, from the Lancaster road, West Philadelphia, passes in the rear of Judge Peters's mansion. The trip is a very pleasant one either way, and the view from the brow of the hill in front, excels in beauty anything about Philadelphia.

PRESBYTERIAN.

*From "The Presbyterian" for June 6, 1855.*

## EDITORIAL

**A HISTORY OF THE BRICK PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH**  
*in the City of New York. By Shepherd Knapp.* (Quotations.) New York: Published by the Trustees of the Brick Presbyterian Church, 1909. 8vo, pp. xxii, 566; cloth.

**PERSONAL RECORDS OF THE BRICK PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH**  
*in the City of New York: 1809-1908. Including Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Admissions to Membership, Dismissions, Deaths, etc., Arranged in Alphabetical Order. Edited by Shepherd Knapp.* New York: Published by the Trustees of The Brick Presbyterian Church, 1909. 8vo, pp. 262; cloth.

The *format* of these books is perfect. There is about them nothing of the so-called "de luxe" quality, which often carries book-making beyond the bounds of convenience in use and within the bounds of luxurious vulgarity. They are well-planned, well-printed and tastefully bound library books, conveying at once a sense of dignity and good taste. If we thus emphasize these outward things it is because we would commend the example of the trustees of the Brick Church to the authorities of other historic parishes. Here is an example of the way in which the thing should be done.

We venture also to use the contents of these volumes as the text of a little homily. As editor it comes within our observation to note how many parishes are spending money, and much money, in putting into print elaborate accounts of the proceedings of historic anniversaries, and publishing them by way of a permanent souvenir of the parish history. After the examination of a large number of these, we humbly record our conclusion that the money so expended is to a considerable extent wasted, and that the end sought to be accomplished by the publication is in reality not attained. The interest of an anniversary lies in the place, the occasion, the

personality of the speakers, the atmosphere, the uplifted feelings of the participants. The more an address fits itself to such an occasion, the less is it likely to be worthy of the cold reproduction of type. The more of the orderly results of patient historical research it contains, by so much the less was it adapted to meet the exigencies of the original occasion. These anniversary books have a common fate. To outsiders they appeal but little even at first. By the participants they are read, and are preserved till the anniversary glow has passed. Their ultimate fate we hesitate to mention. It will be sufficient to say that for more than twenty-five years it has been our habit to handle and note the contents of the five- and ten-cent boxes and stalls on the outside of the second-hand book stores.

The thing we have a right to look for from the authorities of every historic parish is that they engage a competent scholar to make a detailed study of the historical materials which the parish annals afford. And that the history so prepared, together with such records as should be placed beyond danger of loss, be published for the common good. Parochial pride is a proper begetter and aider of such an enterprise, but the end to be attained is not to minister to the vanity of present parochial authorities, but to leave in permanent form the historical data upon which a proper parochial pride is founded, and by whose recital it is nourished.

We have had occasion very often to think these thoughts. But it has been indeed a long time since we have seen them embodied so happily as in the volumes which celebrate the history of the Brick Church.

Mr. Knapp has studied the development of the parish out of that collegiate system of Presbyterianism that obtained in early New York; properly drawing a clear line between his own domain and that left for the occupation of the coming historian of the First Church. (Is it not time to anticipate his advent?) He then divides the independent history into epochs and chapters; telling the story with dignity, precision and charm. His care in research is testified to by

full citations of authorities, and by an appended bibliography of his subject. We have no intention of following the stream of Mr. Knapp's narrative, and shall even resist the editorial instinct to make "copy" of some of his passages.

Our purpose is simply to call the attention of those interested in our historic churches to the way in which an opportunity and duty common to them all has found a noble fulfillment at the hands of the parochial authorities of the Brick Church.

Our hope is that the authorities of other great churches will study their opportunity in the light of this volume of parochial history and this volume of parish records, and that ultimately we shall have a collection, much larger than now, of parish histories that in form and contents are worthy to stand beside these. They are costly to make, but so is everything that is done well. Think of what they would mean for church history, not to speak of the brightening of the lot of him whose fate it is to examine and report upon  
NEW PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY.

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## RECORD OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

### RELATING TO PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY

*HISTORICAL SKETCH of the Tioga Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. By Charles E. Amidon. Philadelphia: The Franklin Printing Company, January, 1909. 8vo, pp. 20; stitched.*

Mr. Amidon has prepared a short and straightforward sketch of the half century's life of a church, one of whose excellent pastors served for years as the Honorary Librarian of this Society.

The life of the parish as here disclosed has flowed steadily, without haste and also without rest, calm and beneficent. Fifty years is not very long, and yet when Mr. Amidon tells us that the new enterprise was located in "Rising Sun Village," and organized by "The Fourth Presbytery of Philadelphia," the occasion seems remote, so great have been the changes in church and city.

*THE EARLY CATECHISMS of the Reformed Church in the United States. By Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph. D. Reprinted from the Reformed Church "Review," Vol. XII, No. 4, October, 1908.*

Professor Hinke's researches into the early history of his Church are here extended to cover the catechetical history, and he has entered a field practically untrodden, and contributed a chapter of history hitherto unwritten. The first necessity was to gather up the materials, and during eight years Professor Hinke has collected some 100 different editions of Reformed Catechisms from the presses of this country. From this material Prof. Hinke first constructed a bibliography of his subject, and then proceeds to put the catechetical history upon this documentary basis. He shows, that, contrary to current views the Heidelberg Catechism took a supreme position, and held it almost uncontested during the whole Cœtus period, but that from the year 1804 to the Tercentenary Convention in 1863, the Heidelberg Catechism was largely superseded by others prepared by various ministers and aimed at improvement in catechetical training of Reformed youth. Professor Hinke passes the contents of these catechisms under review and appends the bibliography already referred to. This paper has the interest that comes from good workmanship and a sound historical method.

*HISTORICAL SERMON of Rev. Cyrus Cort, D. D. In the First Reformed Church of Greensburg, Pa., October 13, 1907, during the Sessions of the Pittsburg Synod to Commemorate the Services of the Pioneer Pastor of the Reformed Church in Western Pennsylvania on the One hundred and twenty-fifth Anniversary. N. p., n. d. 8vo, pp. 48; stitched.*

October 14th 1907, was the 125th anniversary of the day on which the representatives of the Reformed Church in western Pennsylvania conferred with the Rev. John William Weber, and made out a regular call to him to become their Pastor, after he had made his preliminary tour among the scattered Reformed people in the territory now covered by the Pittsburg Synod, in the autumn of 1782. To-day that Synod numbers 170 congregations and 25,000 communicants.

"To cultivate a devout historical spirit," says Dr. Cort, "is the sacred duty of all the children of men." That the duty is not so universally fulfilled may be gathered from a later remark of Dr. Cort (p. 13);—"The baptismal record of Rev. [Mr.] Weber written in German, was recently rescued from a rubbish heap by Pastor Bromer

of the first Reformed Church of Greensburg." Indeed the only surprising feature of this occurrence is the fortunate presence of Mr. Bromer. In this sermon Dr. Cort has endeavored to turn the thoughts of his fellow churchmen to the early days of Westmoreland County and the first Reformed clergyman who preached there. To his sermon are now added numerous illustrations, a number of them of marked historical interest.

**HISTORY OF THE FIFTH AVENUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH** of New York City, New York, from 1808 to 1908: together with an account of its Centennial Anniversary Celebration, December 18-23, 1908. Prepared by Henry W. Jessup, an Elder of the Church, under direction of the Centennial Committee. New York, 1909. 8vo, pp. 283; cloth.

The Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church illustrates a certain infelicity in naming a church after the situation which its church-building may happen to occupy: In 1808 it was incorporated as "The Presbyterian Church in Cedar street." In 1835 its name was changed by a special act to "The Presbyterian Church in Duane Street." In 1852 the name was changed by another special act to the Fifth Avenue Church, corner of Nineteenth street," and again in 1875, upon removal further up the Avenue, to "The Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church."

Under whatever name, the Church has been and is a great, honored and useful institution, famed for its pastors, its constituency and its benevolences. These latter have amounted during the last Church year to more than \$360,000.

Everything concerning such a parish is of interest and import to the whole Church. The present comely volume is not, on the one hand, purely a parochial history, nor, on the other, is it merely an account of the Centennial celebration.

Mr. Jessup's historical sketch covers pages 7 to 87. Thence forward to p. 135 are reports of parochial societies and missions, and from pages 136 to 213 is an account of the Centennial Exercises and reports of the addresses then delivered. An appendix contains the deliverance of the Session "against the Errors in doctrine set forth in the paper called the act and Testimony," which was adopted on 6th January, 1835.

We do not know just how to describe the quality which Mr Jessup has infused into his sketch of the parochial history, but perhaps it is enough to say that he has made it very interesting to read. He was no doubt fortunate in having for his subject the work of such exceptional men as many of the pastors of the Fifth Avenue Church have been,—John B. Romeyn, James W. Alexander, Nathan L. Rice, John Hall and George T. Purves.



## NOTES

### DUNKELD CATHEDRAL.

Many readers of *The Cathedral and Abbeys of Presbyterian Scotland*, by M. E. Leicester Addis (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1901), will recall the account of Dunkeld Cathedral there given. To that may now be added a new chapter in its history as recorded in *The British Weekly* for October 22, 1908.

"The restored choir of Dunkeld Cathedral was opened for public worship as the Parish Church of Dunkeld last week. The restoration, finely conceived and admirably carried through, has been achieved through the generosity of Sir Donald Currie, G.C.M.G. of Garth. Dr. Theodore Marshall, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, conducted the service before a crowded and distinguished congregation. The Duke of Atholl later entertained a large number of guests at a lunch in the City Hall. The streets of Dunkeld were gayly decorated with flags in honour of the occasion. The service was most impressive. The devotional exercises included dedicatory prayers by Rev. Thomas Rutherford, minister of Dunkeld. The Moderator, who preached from Psalm cii. 14, after referring to the great historical interest of the Cathedral, concluded by saying that for long years they had desired to see Dunkeld Cathedral restored in a manner worthy of its noble past, but delay, instead of being a misfortune, had been a blessing in disguise. Any earlier restoration that could have been achieved would have fallen far short of that now accomplished. They rejoiced that their venerable friend had thus crowned a long life of public usefulness. No ancient church could ever be restored to what it once was, but the work accomplished there showed the choir of Dunkeld Cathedral, at least, in something like its pristine beauty. Most cordially in their name, the name of the Church, and the name of the country, he thanked and congratulated Sir Donald. He had done his part, they must do theirs by continuing to carry on that ancient mission which the first founders of Dunkeld laboured to extend to Scotland and the world."

### CALVIN'S LETTERS

The fullest collection of Calvin's correspondence is contained in volumes xb-xx of *Iohannis Calvini Opera*, 1863-1900, edited by J. W. Baum and others. But even this needs to be supplemented by the *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, of which nine volumes were edited by A. L. Herminjard (Geneva, 1866-1897). Copies of both works are in the library of The Presbyterian Historical Society.

The fullest selection of letters in English is still that published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication in 4 vols., 8vo, n. d. [1858].

Many inquiries have been made as to the connection of this edition with an Edinburgh edition of which Vols. I and II, and they only, often turn up in second-hand book shops, bearing the imprint of Constable. In response to such an inquiry made in "Queries" of *The Catholic Presbyterian* for March, 1879, the following full explanation of the matter was furnished by the Edinburgh publisher, and appeared in the May number of the same periodical:

Edinburgh, 5th March, 1879.

In order to enable you to reply to the question put to you in the March number of *The Catholic Presbyterian*, and to place on record some details of my frustrated enterprise to give the English public a translation of all the Letters of John Calvin, I must refresh my memory by recurring to correspondence and intercourse twenty-five years ago with Dr. Jules Bonnet, the accomplished editor of the four volumes published in Paris by M. Meyrueis, I think in the year 1854.

Having learned with astonishment from the late M. Merle d'Aubigné that there had been difficulty in achieving even this Parisian edition, and that it was deemed hopeless to attempt their publication in the English language, some lingering remains of youthful enthusiasm were stirred within me, and crediting my countrymen with greater devotion to the father of their theology than was warranted by the issue, I determined to supply the want.

M. d'Aubigné introduced me to Dr. Bonnet, who readily accepted a proposal by Thomas Constable & Co. that he should furnish to us annotated transcripts of the Reformer's Latin and French letters, to be translated and published at our expense in this country, while any profit that might arise from their publication should be equally divided between the Editor and ourselves.

To facilitate the launching of the publication, Dr. and Madame Bonnet passed the winter of 1854 as guests under my roof, and a very pleasant time we had together. The first volume appeared in the spring of 1855, and Dr. Bonnet left us for Paris in high hope and expectation.

It may be that my enthusiasm had caused me to undertake single-handed what ought to have been the work of an association; still, sanguine as I may have been, I never expected, or led Dr. Bonnet to expect, that either he or we would receive one penny of remuneration until all the four volumes had been placed before the public.

Dr. Bonnet wrote to me from time to time to ask the state of matters, and was sadly disappointed to learn, a year after publication, that we were still £260 out of pocket on the first volume alone. It was with extreme difficulty that we prevailed on him to complete the second one, which was already far advanced, and the best—indeed the only—vindication of his refusal to implement the contract with his publishers is contained in a letter he addressed to me from Clarens, in Switzerland, on the 4th of August, 1856.

[The letter in substance stated that as the first volume had been a great failure, no further steps ought to be taken, and that he was invincibly opposed to the completion of the four volumes.]

I wrote in reply to this communication from Dr. Bonnet.

[The letter expressed willingness to pay to Dr. Bonnet all expenses already incurred by him in connection with the publication; also a purpose to issue vol. ii.; and in reference to vols. iii. and iv., a great desire to go on with them, and made a request to Dr. Bonnet to say for what sum he would undertake to complete them. It concluded thus—"In any event, I would rather suffer much inconvenience than abandon a glorious undertaking like the present."']

The condition of co-operation proposed by Dr. Bonnet, was that he should be assured of a payment of £100 for each of the four volumes which were to constitute the edition. To these terms, in addition to the further risk incurred, my Firm could not agree, and with much regret we felt ourselves compelled to relinquish our interesting and useful enterprise. We forwarded to each of our subscribers a post-office order for 15s., the amount of their subscription for the two volumes which Dr. Bonnet placed it beyond our power to issue, and retired reluctantly, but without dishonour, from the enterprise.

Shortly after, Dr. Bonnet appears to have succeeded in finding pecuniary patronage in America for the Letters of the great Reformer, and availed himself of that translation of the two earlier volumes which had been made at the expense of his Edinburgh publishers. Many persons who had subscribed for these, completed their "sets" by adding vols. iii. and iv. of the New York edition; and you may possibly think it worth while to account to posterity for the *membra disjecta libelli* by printing this fragment of literary history.

THOMAS CONSTABLE.

The advertisement in the first volume of the Philadelphia edition, by the editor of the Board of Publication, states that "a benevolent gentleman in New York" [Mr. James Lenox] proposed to purchase the copy-right of the letters and transfer it to the Board, and that the Board proceed in so expensive an undertaking "solely actuated by public considerations." Putting this advertisement and Mr. Constable's letter together, we may perhaps infer that the pecuniary arrangements were between Mr. Lenox and M. Bonnet, the original publisher not being admitted to share them.

It may be added here, that in honor of the 400th anniversary of Calvin's birth, J. C. B. Mohr, of Tübingen, announces the publication of a German version of fourteen hundred letters of Calvin, translated by Rudolf Schwartz, and introduced by Prof. Paul Wernle. The work will appear in two volumes. It is intended to do for Calvin what Carlyle has done for Cromwell.





**THEODORE BEZA.**

From a print engraved by J. Hopwood after J. Faber.

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JOHN CALVIN AND THE PSALMODY OF THE  
REFORMED CHURCHES:

BEING THE FIRST OF THE LECTURES UPON "THE PSALMODY  
OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES," DELIVERED ON THE L. P.  
STONE FOUNDATION, AT PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL  
SEMINARY, IN FEBRUARY, 1907.

BY LOUIS F. BENSON, D. D.

[Concluded from page 87.]

XI. APPENDIX: THE DECLINE OF PSALMODY IN FRENCH-  
SPEAKING REFORMED CHURCHES.<sup>139</sup>

We have considered thus at length the Genevan Psalmody in Switzerland and France, because in it we are dealing with the source and spring of the Reformed Psalmody in general. And the logical course would be to proceed at once to follow the several streams of its advance into other countries until we shall have gained a connected history of the whole movement to establish Metrical Psalmody, and then to follow that with a similar study of its general decline. But the actual materials hardly admit such an arrangement. We have to deal not with the Psalmody of the Reformed Church, but with that of national Reformed Churches, mutually connected with Geneva, but severally independent; subject to common

<sup>139</sup> Not delivered in connection with the "Stone Lectures."

influences, but separated by national boundaries. The materials for our study insist in grouping themselves along these national lines, and the only practicable way to a complete account of the development and decline of Reformed Psalmody is to take up the national Churches consecutively, and in each case to follow the history of the Psalmody from its rise to its transition into modern Hymnody, noting as we proceed those common principles and influences which gave unity to the whole movement.

Our next step, therefore, is to carry forward the story of the Genevan Psalmody in its original home and in France to the point of its ultimate displacement.

For more than a century after its completion the *Genevan Psalter*, without alteration, continued in universal use among French-speaking Reformed churches. But during a considerable part of that period several causes were coöperating to produce marked changes both in the spirit and practice of the Psalmody.

(1) The first of these was the waning of the enthusiasm characteristic of the early Psalm singing. As French Protestantism gradually lowered its aggressive ideal of winning France to that of establishing itself within effective lines of defense against outside interference, so the tone of its worship also was lowered, and it had to be defended against that spirit of indifference lurking at the gate of every church. This indifference, naturally, was especially conspicuous in the Psalmody, because congregational song depends upon the good will of the greatest number of people.

In 1579 the national Synod of Figeac advised "Churches that in singing Psalms do first cause each verse to be read, . . . to forbear that childish Custom, and such as have used themselves unto it shall be censured."<sup>140</sup> This early introduction of what came to be known as "lining the Psalm," plainly marked a decadence. Two years later the Second Synod of Rochelle dealt with current indifference to Psalmody as follows:

<sup>140</sup> Quick, *Synodicon*, vol. i, p. 132.

“Forasmuch as there is a notorious contempt of Religion visible in all places, yea also in our Religious Meetings, we advise that Notice be given to all Persons, to bring with them their Psalm-Books into the Churches, and that such as contemptuously neglect the doing of it, shall be severely censur’d; and all Protestant Printers are advised not to sunder in their Impressions the Prayers and Catechism from the Psalm-Books.”<sup>141</sup>

The lessened interest in Psalm singing continued to manifest itself in spite of these ecclesiastical censures. Some of the churches found it tedious to sing through the whole of the allotted portions (“pauses”) of the Psalter, and undertook to skip them. In 1617, the Second Synod of Vitré dealt with this practice as follows:

“Whereas Complaints are made us, that in some Churches before Sermon they sing part of the Psalm, and reserve the last Verse for conclusion of the Exercise. This Assembly enjoins all the Churches to sing out the whole pause, and to conform themselves as much as may be to the ancient Order.”<sup>142</sup>

The succeeding Synod of Alez, in its “Observations made on Reading the Acts of the last National Synod held at Vitré,” thought that the practice had been dealt with too leniently, and ordered that:

“These words, *as much as may be*, shall be razed out of that Canon which had enjoined the Churches to sing full parts of *Psalms*, and so conform themselves into that Antient Custom in use with us ever since the Reformation.”<sup>143</sup>

These successive actions of Synod show a real desire and effort to maintain the Reformation Psalmody in its integrity. All the practices condemned were actual breaches of the established church discipline, and capable of correction. But the waning of the earlier enthusiasm was beyond the reach of any process of discipline.

(2) Partly a cause and partly an effect of this changed attitude toward the Psalmody was a dissatisfaction with the canonical Psalter itself as the subject-matter of praise. In the

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 139.

<sup>142</sup> *Synodicon*, vol. i, p. 499.

<sup>143</sup> *Synodicon*, vol. ii, p. 11.



first enthusiasm at receiving and singing the Word of God in their own tongue, one Psalm was as good as another, and to the bold and aggressive spirit of the early Huguenots the imprecatory Psalms were far from unwelcome. The colder spirit of later generations felt the need of discrimination, and this they exercised in the way most feasible, the way of selecting from the Psalter the Psalms they thought best adapted to public worship. By the end of the sixteenth century<sup>144</sup> the custom of singing through the Psalter in course was generally given up in France, and the choice of the Psalms for the day was recognized as being in the pastor's hands. In Switzerland the old custom obtained somewhat longer; in some parts, as at Neuchâtel, it lingered till well toward the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>145</sup> And in France, even to our own day, there have been voices of earnest protest against eliminating from actual use any part of the Psalter as being an unwarranted tampering with God's Word.<sup>146</sup>

(3) Parallel with the desire to eliminate parts of the Psalter was the desire to supplement it by adding other songs of Scripture. In this there was nothing inconsistent with Genevan principles; and the *Genevan Psalter* of 1562 already contained Marot's version of the Song of Simeon and the versified Ten Commandments. The project was in fact committed, in 1594, by the national Synod of Montauban to Beza himself, then residing at Geneva in his honored old age. Beza responded in 1595 by publishing at Geneva sixteen versions of Scripture songs as *Les saints Cantiques recueillis tant du Vieil que de Nouveau Testament, mis en rime Francoise par Theodore de Besze*.<sup>147</sup> In 1598 the national Synod of Montpellier directed that "they shall be received and sung in Families, thereby to dispose and fit the People for the Pub-

<sup>144</sup> Douen, vol. i, p. 526.

<sup>145</sup> See Bovet, p. 48, note.

<sup>146</sup> See preface to the complete *Les Psaumes de David tout en musique suivis des cantiques sacrés*, Paris 1840: published by authority of the consistory of the Reformed Church of Paris.

<sup>147</sup> For its contents, see Douen, vol. ii, bibliographie, No. 216.

lick Usage of them in the Churches, until the next National Synod." <sup>148</sup> Beza's collection was reprinted in 1597 and 1598, but very soon fell out of sight. It may be that Beza's versions did not appeal to the popular taste. Or it may be that the real demand was already for a more distinctively evangelical Psalmody, and that Beza's versions, which with two exceptions were passages from the Old Testament, did not meet the demand, or even add materially to the resources furnished by the Book of Psalms.

(4) The great changes in the vocabulary, syntax and prosody of the French language in the latter half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century contributed greatly to the dissatisfaction with the Psalmody. The language and versification of the *Genevan Psalter* became at first antiquated and then uncouth. Ultimately it became even unintelligible to the common people. The revision of the Psalter was felt to be a necessity, lest the Reformed Church should share the reproach of the Latin Church of singing the Psalms in a dead and unknown tongue. <sup>149</sup>

It was not, however, until the last quarter of the seventeenth century that the revision of the *Genevan Psalter* was officially undertaken. A number of provincial synods united in requesting Valentine Conrart, the eminent secretary of the French Academy, to revise Marot and Beza's work in the original metres, retaining so much of the language as was practicable. The first fifty-one Psalms with melodies, and accompanied by the prose version, appeared in 1677 as *Le livre des Psaumes, en vers françois, par Cl. Ma. et Th. de Bè. retouchez par feu Monsieur Conrart, Conseiller Secretaire du Roy, . . . Première partie.* <sup>150</sup> It was twice reprinted in the same year. The complete Psalter appeared in 1679 as *Les*

<sup>148</sup> Quick, *Synodicon*, vol. i, p. 196.

<sup>149</sup> "Avertissement" prefixed to Conrart's revision. As early as 1646, Jean Diodati, himself a native of Geneva, declared in the preface to his *Les Pseaumes de David, en rime*, that for a long time, a revision had been desired, in order to overcome the distaste felt by many for the Psalmody.

<sup>150</sup> Bovet, *bibliographie*, No. 192.

*Psaumes en vers François, retouchez sur l'ancienne version. Par feu M. V. Conrart, Conseillor, etc.*,<sup>151</sup> with the approbation of several synods. Though claiming to be only a revision, Conrart's is substantially a new version. Gilbert, the author of a rival version, endeavored to deprive the new Psalter of the distinction of Conrart's name. Conrart had died in 1675, and left his MSS. to his friend M. A. de La Bastide to be prepared for the press. Gilbert claimed that Conrart's work had been so largely rewritten that the printed book should not bear his name.<sup>152</sup> There are grounds for thinking that Gilbert underestimated Conrart's part in the new version,<sup>153</sup> which continued to be known by his name.

Conrart's Psalter appeared at a time when, under Louis XIV, the Reformed Church was under constraint and distress, soon to culminate in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). No national council could be held, and any official authorization of changes of worship was impracticable. The new version was used independently in some congregations, but more, so far as they remained unscattered, went on in the old way.

It was the refugee congregation at Zurich which again brought forward the project of revision, overturing to Geneva, as the head of Reformed Churches, to take up the matter. The reply of the Venerable Company of Pastors was favorable. They appointed a committee of three of their number to examine Conrart's version, with special instructions to eliminate any expression of the imprecations of the Jews against their enemies.<sup>154</sup> The work of the committee, largely performed by Benedict Pictet, was complete in 1693. The new rescension was probably printed in 1695, but no copy of the original edition is known to have survived. The title of the 1701 edition reads: *Les pseauxes de David mis en vers françois. Revus de nouveau sur les précédentes edi-*

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 195.

<sup>152</sup> *Les Pseauxes en vers François par Mr. Gilbert*, Paris, 1780: preface, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>153</sup> See Bovet, pp. 157-159

<sup>154</sup> Bovet, p. 164.

tions, et approuvés par les Pasteurs et Professeurs de l'Eglise et de l'Académie de Genève. It was introduced at Geneva in October or November, 1698, and after a year's trial of it, a circular letter was sent to the other French-speaking Reformed churches, explaining the motive and method of the new rescension of Conrart, and inviting its general adoption.<sup>155</sup>

The responses of the churches showed anything but unanimity.<sup>156</sup> In Switzerland the new Genevan Psalter was adopted by many of the French refugee churches and by the national churches of Erguel and Neuchâtel; at Berne it was rejected. The French churches at London, Copenhagen, Hamburg and Frankfurt either rejected it or postponed its examination. The church at Berlin adopted it with qualifications, and issued an edition with amendments of its own.<sup>157</sup> The Church of the United Provinces ("Synode Wallon") resented the primacy assumed by Geneva in issuing without consultation a new Psalter, and offering it for general adoption. This was pronounced an act of schism, and the bitterness thus aroused continued through years of controversy and alienation.<sup>158</sup> The "Synode Wallon" undertook ineffectually a revision of its own; most of its churches falling back on *Marot and Beza*. Eventually Conrart's version was accepted as a basis, and was subjected to a fresh rescension, which appeared at The Hague in 1720 as *Les Pseaumes de David, mis en vers François, et revus et approuvez par le synode wallon des Provinces-unies*.<sup>159</sup> This was authorized

<sup>155</sup> Bovet, pp. 165, 166.

<sup>156</sup> They were printed in a pamphlet (without date), *Réoit de la manière dont les psaumes de David, retouchés par M. Conrart ont été introduits dans l'Eglise de Genève*. See Bovet, p. 243, and, for a summary of the responses, pp. 166, 167.

<sup>157</sup> H. L. Bennett in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 936 dates this as 1702; but a London ed. of *Les Pseaumes de David, retouchés*, etc., bears in its title the words *Revus à Geneve & à Berlin*. The 1702 ed. (Berlin) claims, however, to be *retouchée une dernière fois*.

<sup>158</sup> For the scarce pamphlet literature embodying this controversy see Bovet, appendix, note ix, and, for the details of the Walloon revision, pp. 169-171.

by the States General in 1729, and was very frequently reprinted.

Upon the adoption of this Psalter the version of Conrart in its three rescensions, that of Geneva, that of Berlin and this of the "Synode Wallon," was in possession of the entire field. But the new version never attained anything like the position of the old. All the sacred associations of the Psalms with the sufferings of the fathers were enshrined in *Marot and Beza*. The new version depended for its welcome upon the fact that it restored the text of the Psalms to a shape practicable for general use. But metrical Psalms had lost their authority in French-speaking churches. The curious zeal for revision which made the Psalms an object of contention, and which brought forth further proposals for elimination and still new versions, had its roots not in a common zeal for the purest text, but rather in dissatisfaction in the use of Psalms. Behind was a growing desire among the churches for a Hymnody that should be frankly evangelical. Psalm singing continued for a long time in spite of the raillery of Voltaire;<sup>160</sup> dissatisfaction within the churches expressing itself by continually narrowing the selection of Psalms actually employed. The dissatisfaction extended also to the music of the Psalter. Early in the eighteenth century a disposition to add the vocal parts to the melodies showed itself, and was followed

<sup>159</sup> This issue, reported by M. Douen, bibliographie No. 439, anticipates by two years, the date of publishing the Walloon revision given by Bovet, pp. 172, 287.

<sup>160</sup> Voltaire's well-known characterization of Geneva and its Psalmody was published in "premier chant" of "*La guerre civile de Genève (Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire, Basle, 1785, vol. xii, pp. 295, 296)*". Disregarding the rhythm, it may be rendered line for line as follows:

"Famous city, rich, proud and cunning,  
Where they all weigh problems, and nobody ever laughs;  
The art of Barême is the only art that prospers.  
They hate the ball and abhor the theatre,  
They are ignorant of the melodies of the great Rameau,  
And for the general diversion Geneva drones out  
The good King David's old-fashioned concerts  
In the faith that God is placated by bad poetry."

by various schemes of modifying or replacing them. The first definite effort to substitute new tunes for the old was made by Jean Pierre le Camus of Geneva. In 1760 he published an edition of the Genevan rescension of the Psalter with tunes of his own composition in two parts,<sup>161</sup> and in the preface characterized the old melodies as "fatiguing and insipid."<sup>162</sup>

The actual transition from the old Psalmody, thus invalidated in many ways, into the new Hymnody, was a gradual one, proceeding through the eighteenth century. It was effected not by a formal displacement of the metrical Psalter, but by the admission of the Hymn Book to an equal status and the churches' preference of the hymns.

(1) In Geneva itself the desire for an evangelical Hymnody had been recognized and partly met at the opening of the century. In 1703, within five years of the introduction of the rescension of Conrart's version he had helped to make, Benedict Pictet, with others, proposed to the Venerable Company as "a happy innovation" to supplement the Psalms with New Testament hymns, after the example of the Lutheran Church, which, they said, "is a good one to follow."<sup>163</sup> Pictet was duly commissioned to prepare the hymns, and in 1705 published *Cinquante-quatre cantiques sacrez pour les principales solemnitez*. Twelve of these, paraphras-

<sup>161</sup> Bovet, bibliographie, No. 254. For a specimen of his tunes, see Douen, vol. ii, p. 289.

<sup>162</sup> In a note to the passage already quoted, Voltaire said: "Ces vers sont dignes de la musique; on y chante les commandements de DIEU sur l'air: *Éveillez-vous, belle endormie*." In Voltaire's time the Psalm tunes were doubtless not heard at their best. But it seems odd that, for the sake of raising a laugh, he should have cared to borrow the venerable complaint of Roman Catholics that Calvin's musicians appropriated melodic material then current with secular associations;—a charge that from their standpoint had some relevancy, from his none at all, and which surely had ceased to be a live issue by the middle of the eighteenth century. In the particular case of appropriation he alleges, Voltaire seems to have been misinformed.

<sup>163</sup> *Registres de la Compagnie*, quoted by M. Gaberel, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Genève*, iii, 19.

ing or closely following Scripture, were selected by the Company and authorized for public use, and from that date generally printed in the Psalters as an appendix. In principle, this project, except for its emphasis on the New Testament, hardly went beyond the apparently forgotten project of the French Synod at the end of the sixteenth century. But it took its impulse from Lutheran precedent, and it marks the beginning of the new period of "Psalms and Hymns" on equal footing. The number of hymns in use increased, and broadened in character, later in the century. In the new edition of *Les cantiques sacrés*, as attached to the Genevan Psalter of 1778, they numbered fifty-four.

The period of selected Psalms and hymns continued till the rise of modern French Hymnody in connection with the "Réveil" of the early nineteenth century. Its leader, César Malan, whose work inaugurated the new Hymnody, endeavored quite vainly to revive the interest in Metrical Psalmody, publishing both an "evangelized"<sup>164</sup> and a literal version<sup>165</sup> of the Book of Psalms.

(2) In France, from the persecutions under Louis XIV to the Edict of Toleration of Louis XVI, congregational Psalmody was practiced, if at all, only under great difficulties. The churches lay prostrate, and the assembly of the faithful who still remained was prohibited. Psalms were sung in the household, and in "the assemblies of the wilderness" there was an attempt to maintain under rude conditions the simple liturgical order of the Reformed Church.<sup>166</sup> In many of the congregations formed abroad the history of the Psalmody followed that of Geneva, to which they looked for supplies of Psalm books as needed. In the last quarter of the century, in a number of refugee churches, notably those with

<sup>164</sup> *Les Chants de Sion*, etc., Geneva, 1824. Containing fifty Psalms with music.

<sup>165</sup> *Chants d'Israël*, Geneva, 1835. For Malan's efforts to reinvigorate Genevan Psalmody, see his son's *Life, Labours and Writings of Caesar Malan*, London, 1869, pp. 184, 328, 329; also Bovet, pp. 197-200.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. G. de Felice, *History of the Protestants of France*, Tr. Barnes, London, 1853; pp. 367 ff.

Lutheran surroundings, the complete Psalters gave way to selections of Psalms accompanied by fuller collections of hymns. That made in 1771 for the church at St. Gall<sup>167</sup> had sixty Psalms, and in the second edition only thirty. That made in 1775 for the church in Leipzig appeared as *Cantiques tirés en partie des Pseaumes et en partie des poésies sacrées*,<sup>168</sup> and in its preface Dumas, the pastor, exhorted the Reformed to imitate their brethren of nearly all churches who were wiser in that they sang hymns expressive of Christian thought and feeling. The Reformed church at Frankfurt, upon gaining permission to depart from the Lutheran cultus, published in 1787 its *Nouveau recueil de psaumes et de cantiques*, which remained in use for thirty years.<sup>169</sup> In 1791 the church at Berlin published its collection of selected and modified Psalms with hymns,<sup>170</sup> prefaced by the statement that their Psalmody had long since ceased to satisfy their hearts. These collections, in their manner of dealing with the Psalms and in their free use of hymns, expressed the general sentiment entertained by the majority of Reformed people in France.

In the early nineteenth century there was still some resistance to the prevailing trend. A number of Reformed pastors in France, coöperating with some from Geneva, engaged for several years in efforts to rekindle the old zeal for metrical Psalmody. It was hoped that a fresh handling of the text, with musical settings modified to modern taste or newly composed, would insure a renewed welcome to the Psalter in its integrity. As a result there appeared at Paris and Geneva in 1823, *Psaumes de David et cantiques, corrigés dans les paroles et dans les quatre parties, par Charles Bourrit, pasteur, bibliothécaire, etc.*<sup>171</sup> But the effort failed of any real influence, and the new Psalter was soon forgotten.

<sup>167</sup> Bovet, bibliographie, No. 256, & see p. 194.

<sup>168</sup> Bovet, bibliographie, No. 257, and see pp. 194, 195.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, No. 259, and see pp. 196, 197, note.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, No. 260.

<sup>171</sup> Bovet, bibliographie, No. 264: as to the music, See Douen, vol. ii, pp. 381 f.



The attempt of the consistory of the Reformed Church of Paris on similar lines and with similar results has been already referred to. These ineffective Psalters were followed in turn by a series of local collections, notably that of Lyons (1847), of Paris (1859) and of Nîmes (1868), each of which may be described as "Choix de psaumes et de cantiques sacrés," and each of which has come into more or less general use.

(3) The Church of the United Provinces is the only one of the French-speaking Churches whose Psalm book conveyed the canonical Psalter in its integrity down to our own time. Some efforts at elimination and revision, failing to succeed, were followed in 1781 by an equally abortive evangelized Psalter in the manner of Isaac Watts's *The Psalms of David imitated*. It was by Daniel Zachary Chatelain, of Maestricht, appearing as *Pseautier évangélique*.<sup>172</sup> What the Walloon churches had "for a long time ardently desired" was that privilege of singing hymns in which nearly all the other Protestant churches of our language have found peculiar edification.<sup>173</sup> In September, 1797, the "Synode Wallon" decided by a very large majority to introduce hymns.<sup>174</sup> In June, 1798, a commission was named to compile a hymn book,<sup>175</sup> and their work was ratified and approved by Synod in September, 1801.<sup>176</sup> The hymn book appeared in 1802 as *Cantiques pour le culte public, recueillis et imprimés par ordre du Synode Wallon*. It contained one hundred and thirty hymns for public worship set to tunes from the old Psalter and from Lutheran books, with some specially composed for it; and also three hymns without music for private use. Henceforth it appeared bound up with the Psalters.

The authorization of this book may be regarded as the last step in the introduction of hymns into the worship of French Reformed Churches, and it rounded out the full circle of change. But this was not accomplished until two hundred and thirty-eight years had passed since the death of Calvin.

<sup>172</sup> Bovet, bibliographie, No. 258. <sup>173</sup> Preface to *Cantiques*, 1802.

<sup>174</sup> "Extraits des Articles du Synode," prefixed to *Cantiques*, 1802.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

## CONEWAGO PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

BY JACOB WEIDMAN, D. D.

In 1877 the Rev. William A. West received the following letter from the Rev. E. F. Rockwell, D. D.:

“Cool Springs, Iredell Co., N C *January 24. 1877*”

“James Hall and wife Prudence (Roddy) the parents of Rev. James Hall D. D., who went to General Assembly sixteen times, and was wedded 1803, came here and settled on Fifth Creek, near Bethany Church 1751-2. They had a certificate: ‘That James Hall and his wife Prudence (Roddy) Hall heath lived in this congriation ever since it was erected, & heave behaved themselves cristianly and soberly without aney public scandal known to us, & heave been partakers of sealing ordinances amonhst us & may be received into aney christian society wherever God in his providence may order their lott, is certified this 20t day of august 1751 by the session att Conawago.

Thomas Bowman,  
Robert Mordah,  
Hugh Hall,

John McQueen,  
Jas. Mordah.”

“We are desirous to know where and whether there is any record like this—any names yet remaining there like these? The first four are names of the Scotch Irish settlers here from Pennsylvania about that time. These parties had a son Hugh Hall. We have found twenty-four or twenty-five ministers of the Gospel among the descendants of James and P. Hall, and about twenty-eight females have married preachers. Rev. Robert Hall, who died last November at Oxford, Ohio, was a grandson. They have spread out all over the country. I preach one half the time at Bethany Church, which is the name of a post-office nearby, you may see on Colton’s map (atlas.) We had our centennial celebration August, 1875, and had a large assembly.

“Last October I was in Philadelphia. I saw Rev. J. G. Craighead, D. D. He advised me to write to Rev. W. S. VanCleave, Gettysburg. There was a church of Conawago near there, but he replies that there are no such names on their records or tombstones; says that there is or *was* a church of that name in Dauphin county, organized earlier than his, and suggests that I write to you for information. I hope, therefore, that you will excuse me for troubling you with this matter. It is one of some historical interest.

“In 1750, the people emigrated here, apparent in colonies, from Pennsylvania. The church of *Centre* in the lower end of this, Iredell

county, till 1753; *Anson* till 1788; *Eowan*, too, had a set of names Davidson, Templeton, McPherson, Givens, etc.; Next north, Fourth Creek (now Statesville) had different names—Simonton, Allison, Stevenson, Hall, Mordah, etc. Bethany is a branch of Fourth Creek. I am located ten miles from Statesville, and letters reach me either at S. or here, at Cool Springs.

“Since the above was written I notice that Dr. Wm. H. Foster<sup>1</sup> in *Sketches North Carolina* states that Dr. James Hall was from Carlisle, Pa., I see in *Minutes Genl. Ass. Pres. Carlisle*, a church Great Conawago, Rev. Joseph Henderson pastor till 1795, when he is W. C., and the church vacant. Do. 1800. But after 1801 Rev. David McConaughy pastor. Whether the same I am inquiring for or not I have no means of knowing.”

It could hardly have happened to fall into more competent hands than those of Dr. West. He enlisted others, such as Hon. John Blair Linn, of Bellefonte; Hon. Joseph Nisley, of Middletown, and Dr. William H. Egle, of Harrisburg. The result of their diligent inquiries was embodied by A. Boyd Hamilton, Esq., of Harrisburg, in an appendix to a pamphlet, entitled *Historical Sketch of Old Hanover Church*, by Rev. Thomas H. Robinson, D. D., and published by the Dauphin County Historical Society, 1878. For this now rare pamphlet I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Luther R. Kelker, State Archivist of Pennsylvania. The history of the defunct church of Conewago, as far as rescued from oblivion is this:

Dr. West had little trouble in verifying the statement of Rev. W. S. Van Cleve that it was distinct from the well-known church of Great Conewago. It was only by inserting a communication in the *Journal*, of Middletown, Dauphin County, in February, 1877, that the site was discovered through the answers, first of Samuel Evans, Esq., of Columbia, and Dr. J. Ringland, of Middletown. By means of the latter, especially, it was located about three quarters of a mile east from Geinburg, a small village on the Lancaster, Middletown and Harrisburg Turnpike, formerly named Franklin, on the farm of Mr. J. Alwine.

<sup>1</sup> This name should be Foote.

Here was found a dilapidated graveyard, measuring nineteen by twenty perches, surrounded by a crumbling wall. It contained about two acres, and within the enclosure was a wall surrounding, apparently, the burial ground of several important families. It was situated about three miles from Middletown, seven miles from Paxtang Church, four miles from Derry and about six from Donegal, all well-known Presbyterian centers. The ground was partly under cultivation for corn, and surrounded by the well-tilled farms of prosperous Pennsylvania Germans. The church building had entirely disappeared already in 1796, and there were only a few Scotch-Irish names found in the neighborhood.

The next information was found in the minutes of the old Donegal Presbytery, and was included in the following items:

June 28, 1738. The people of Conewago ask to be erected into a congregation by themselves. Pp. 237.

August 31, 1738. Terms of separation between the churches of Conewago and Derry. Pp. 244.

October 8, 1741. George Davidson from Conewago presents to Presbytery a supplication and call for Mr. Black.

April 5, 1743, May 26, 1743, and September 6, 1743. The name of John M'Quown is found in the lists of ruling elders. The name of the church represented is not mentioned.

April 4, 1745. Presbytery released Rev. Samuel Black from the charge at Conewago in order to send him to Virginia to labor.

September 4, 1745. Hugh Hall, commissioner from Conewago, appeared and asked that the relation between them and Mr. Black might be renewed.

September 25, 1745. The above request was granted.

As early as 1718 there was a considerable population above the mouth of the *Conoy* Creek in Chester County, separated as Lancaster County in 1729. Between 1720 and 1725 many of the settlers pushed further into the wilderness. They were largely Ulster men. In 1735 those who had fixed their homes in the fertile spot, almost overshadowed by the Round Top on the north and west toward the Susquehanna, on the east by the beautiful Cornwall Hills, and at a greater distance

to the south the broken ridges of the South Mountains, found themselves strong enough to want a separate organization in their isolation. They began by erecting a building on the present graveyard plot. This they had secured before Clark and McKee secured a warrant in 1737 for a large body of land, for the lot is excepted in their title given in 1742. In 1785 the land was patented to Robert Spear, and became known as Spear's choice. This patent is entered in the Roll's Office, Patent Book No. 4, p. 99, etc. From 1735 they were furnished with supplies by the Presbyteries of New Castle and Donegal, and in 1741 they secured as pastor—the only one known to have been settled among them—the Rev. Samuel Black. In the graveyard are a large number of stones, some still standing. They are slabs of the red sandstone of the neighboring hills, without a single inscription of name, date or sculpture (probably because there was no mechanic of sufficient skill among them). Before the Revolution, and even before Braddock's defeat, these enterprising settlers were moving to North Carolina, to the Cumberland Valley and northward in Pennsylvania. The Revolution enlisted many of them. After this they had been so diminished that they had entirely ceased to worship here by 1790. And the very existence of the church was forgotten by the prosperous German successors, only to be revived by the diligent search of genealogists and antiquarians.

Of the only pastor of this flock, Rev. Samuel Black, we derive the following information from Webster's *History of the Presbyterian Church* (pp. 438-440) :

Webster says he was a student of theology from Ireland licensed by New Castle Presbytery. In September, 1735, Donegal Presbytery gave him leave to preach as a candidate for settlement; he was called to the Forks of the Brandywine (erected into a separate congregation) October 7, and ordained November 18, 1735. On September 2, 1740, a portion of his people preferred complaints against him, and on November 4 he was put on trial on seven charges, all of which evidently grew out of the excitement occasioned by Whitefield's preaching, save that of drunkenness. The Presbytery of

Donegal rebuked him for drunkenness and slighting his work, and in the following May suspended him temporarily, his accusers charging that much of the evidence had been kept back on the trial. Very soon after, after inquiry on the spot, Presbytery restored him.

It is evident that this trial was a part of the struggle between the Old and New Sides. The Presbytery of Donegal, which belonged to the Old Side, had refused to receive as correspondents on the trial, Charles Tennent and Samuel Blair, though willing to receive any others from the New Castle Presbytery.

Soon after, in October, 1741, he was called to the new congregation in Conewago, and was installed on the second Wednesday of May. He continued until April, 1745. He had before visited Virginia as a missionary, and was called to the congregations of North and South Mountain. Here he continued in the ministry until 1759, when he retired and died August, 1770, "an aged minister."

In almost all of his congregations, were divisions between the Old and New Sides. He was an adherent of the Old Side. He presided at the installation of Rev. John Elder at Paxtang in 1738. At his departure from Conewago a small part of the Conewago Church separated and secured Rev. John Roan for one fifth of his time. Roan was at Derry, a representative of the New Side. Webster confounds the Conewago Church, with the Great Conewago of Adams County. Black's reputation suffered from these New Side troubles without great cause.

Of Rev. James Hall, D. D., whose career in North Carolina led to the rescue of this defunct church, there is a sketch in Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. III, pp. 381, taken from Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina* and *Missionary Journals*, which starts with the mistake that he was born in Carlisle, where neither he nor his parents were ever known to have resided.

These mistakes are probably due to confounding Carlisle, with what, in 1765, became Carlisle Presbytery, to which the Conewago Church became attached. It is no part of our purpose to give the history of this distinguished minister.

We gladly bear witness to his long-continued career in the South—almost unsurpassed by any minister of his generation. His struggle to enter the ministry, his patriotism during the Revolution, his piety, his zeal in the pulpit, in educating young men for the ministry and his widespread evangelistic labors, extending as far as Natchez, are full of interest and permanent value.

The indefatigable inquiries of those above named as interested in the history of the Conewago Church give us the following results in addition:

By a search of all the early assessments of that portion of Dauphin County they have gathered the following list as probably containing most, if not all, the heads of families of this congregation from 1745-1755—many of the names are found twenty years earlier.

Alexander Bence	Richard Grice	Robert M'Kee
Thomas Bowman	Hugh Hall	John M'Queen
John Bowman	Widow Hall	Joseph M'Queen
Abraham Bridjot	John Hall	James M'Queen
Thomas Breese	Thomas Hall	Edward Queen
Hugh Black	Jebel Hall	Cornelius Queen
Peter Corby	James Hall	James Rea
James Crouch	John Kerr	John Rea (or Wray)
James Clarke	Thomas Kar	William Rea
Hugh Clark	Malcolm Karr	Thomas Rutherford
Rowland Chambers	Thomas Lenox	William Shaw
Arthur Chambers	Thomas Mitchell	Robert Spear
Robert Chambers	Peter Murdoch	Adam Thomas
Joseph Candor	Robert Murdoch	Tho. Wallace
Thomas Clark	James Murdoch	William White
John Combe	John Murdoch	Archibald Walker
George Davidson	Neil McAllister	James Walker
John Doakes	John McAllister	William Work
Arch'd Elliott	John McNair	
George Gray	Thomas M'Kee	

From this they infer that in the most flourishing period the population in the bounds of the congregation was about two hundred.

The following notes of individuals by A. Boyd Hamilton

may prove interesting, and afford items for further investigations:

Hugh Hall's wife was a daughter of James Roddy, who was on the first grand jury held in Lancaster County, and whose name appears on the assessment of Donegal in 1723. He was active in all the affairs of the Donegal settlement. He resided some miles south of Conewago.

Hugh Hall had a son Hugh Hall, who was an ensign in Colonel (General) Hugh Mercer's "third battalion of sixteen companies, May 4, 1758." Opposite his name on the roll is written, "Of a reputable and good family in Lancaster Co." Their captain was Adam Read, Esq., the father-in-law of John Harris, by his second marriage, and the lieutenant was John Simpson, father of General Michael Simpson. All these officers were citizens of the territory that thirty years after became Dauphin County.

The McQueens, so numerous in this congregation, have mostly become McCunes. The orthography of the list of taxables about 1750 shows that the Germans were assuming importance, and consequently the name Kerr becomes Carr, M'Queen becomes Queen, M'Guinne and M'Quoun.

The Kerrs came to Conewago in 1730. One of the family became the Rev. Wm. Kerr of Donegal, who married a granddaughter of Rev. John Elder. Representatives of the family, in almost all its branches, still reside in Dauphin County.

Jane Murdoch, daughter of John and sister of James, married Thomas Rutherford in 1732. The Murdoch's then lived "above Conoy." There are numerous descendants of this family in Dauphin County and in this and other states.

The family of Work went west soon after the Revolution.

The Clarks are found widely distributed in Pennsylvania and other states. One of them was an officer of rank in the Revolution.

A daughter of John McQueen, Rosanna, married Captain Jamieson, of Donegal.

I think Hon. John McNair, member of Congress from the Montgomery district, informed Mr. Hamilton, as he recalls it, that his people originally settled on the Susquehanna.



Adam Thomas owned a farm just north of the graveyard, and was the uncle of the venerable Mrs. Valentine Egle, who died on August 5, 1867, at Harrisburg, aged ninety-five.

The family of Chambers permanently established themselves below Harris's Ferry.

James Crouch was a colonel in the Revolution.

Both McKees were Indian traders. James and his descendants remained on his warranted land from 1737 to 1830, when the family name is lost. But the famous Belle, an only heir, married and removed to a distant county. Thomas about 1753 removed to his "upper farm," thirty miles from Harris's Ferry, where he built a fort. He was an officer under Burd at Forts Augusta and Hunter, and "his singular orthography figures in long pages of letters of the *Pennsylvania Archives*."

The Wallace family settled in numbers along the Swatara in Hanover and Derry.

The family of Wray were numerous afterwards in Hanover.

Candor and Lenox are not often found in local history afterwards. One of the former died in Harrisburg about 1820.

We have not space to follow the emigrants to their abodes throughout the state, or to the West, or their colonies in North Carolina, many of whose descendants have reflected the honors of later years on the small church of Conewago whose feeble existence was continued there for only fifty years.

## PRESBYTERIANS AND THE REVOLUTION.

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia, meeting in May, 1783, just after the close of the Revolutionary War, appointed (May 23) Drs. Witherspoon and Spencer, with Mr. S. Smith, "a committee to prepare a draught of a pastoral letter to the congregations, under the inspection of Synod" (*Records*, p. 499). On May 24 the committee reported a draught, "which, after a few alterations, was approved of, and Dr. Witherspoon and Mr. Black were directed to have it fairly transcribed, signed by the moderator, and printed" (p. 500). The letter appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of May 29, 1783, and is as follows:

"A PASTORAL LETTER from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia to the people under their charge, May 1783.

"Very dear brethren, you will easily remember, that in May 1775, the Synod thought proper to address a pastoral letter to the people under their inspection, on the state of public affairs.<sup>1</sup> At that interesting period, hostilities had just commenced between Great Britain and America, and a long and bloody conflict was to be expected. Now that conflict is over, and we have the best reason to suppose (the preliminaries being signed and ratified) that a happy and honourable peace will be speedily settled by a definitive treaty. We could not therefore longer delay addressing to you the following letter, which will contain our sentiments on this happy occasion, and our advice as to the duty incumbent upon all ranks in return for so great a mercy.

"We cannot help congratulating you on the general and almost universal attachment of the Presbyterian body to the

<sup>1</sup> This letter is printed in the minutes for that year (*Records*, pp. 466-469). It was also printed in Dr. Witherspoon's *Works* (ed. 2, Philadelphia, 1802, vol. iii, pp. 9-15); he being the chairman of the committee who prepared it.

cause of liberty and the rights of mankind. This has been visible in their conduct, and has been confessed by the complaints and resentment of the common enemy. Such a circumstance ought not only to afford us satisfaction on the review, as bringing credit to the body in general, but to increase our gratitude to God for the happy issue of the war; had it been unsuccessful, we must have drunk deeply of the cup of suffering. Our burnt and wasted churches, and our plundered dwellings, in such places as fell under the power of our adversaries, are but an earnest of what we must have suffered had they finally prevailed.<sup>2</sup>

"The Synod therefore request you to render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies spiritual and temporal, and in a particular manner for establishing the Independence of the United States of America. He is the Supreme Disposer of all events, and to him belongs the glory, the victory, and the majesty. We are persuaded you will easily recollect many circumstances in the course of the struggle, which point out his special and signal interposition in our favour. Our most remarkable successes have generally been when things had just before worn the most unfavourable aspect, as at Trenton

<sup>2</sup> As an actual illustration of what Presbyterian churches suffered at the hands of the British during the Revolution (and also for its inherent interest), we follow this letter with a transcript of the subscription paper for repairing the First Church of Philadelphia. In the case of the Second Church, the pews and woodwork were destroyed, the fence around the church removed, and a large branch (chandelier), imported from England, was carried off and sold in New York. The bill for repairing the depredations of the British amounted to £209.9.7. (See *The Old and the New. The Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, 1870, p. 32.) The new church at Fourth and Pine streets was treated in like manner by the British. The pews and all available woodwork were used for firewood, the graves in the church-yard dug up and the yard was otherwise desecrated. (See Gibbons, *A History of Old Pine Street*, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 74.) In a letter to the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, dated December 16, 1801, the Trustees of the church state, "That during the time the British Troops were in Philadelphia, they used the Church as an Hospital, destroyed the Pews and buried upwards of one hundred Hessian Soldiers in the Church Burying Ground." (*Ibid*, appendix D.)

and Saratoga at the beginning, in South Carolina and Virginia towards the end of the war. It pleased God to raise up for us a powerful ally in Europe, and when we consider the unwearied attempts of our enemies to raise dissension by every topic that could be supposed inflammatory and popular, the harmony that has prevailed not only between the allied powers, but the troops of different nations and languages acting together, ought to be ascribed to the gracious influence of Divine Providence.—Without mentioning many other instances, we only further put you in mind of the choice and appointment of a commander in chief of the armies of the United States, who in this important and difficult charge has given universal satisfaction, who alike acceptable to the citizen and the soldier, to the state in which he was born, and to every other on the continent, whose character and influence, after so long service, are not only unimpaired but augmented. Of what consequence this has been to the cause of America, every one may judge, or if it needs any illustration, it receives it from the opposite situation of our enemies in this respect. On the whole, every pious person, on a review of the events of the war, will certainly be disposed to say, with the Psalmist, the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.

“Suffer us to put you in mind of the duty which you owe to God in return for this great national deliverance. You ought to testify your gratitude by living in his fear. This is the only way by which public prosperity can become a real mercy to you. It were to be wished, indeed, that in our contests about the most important interests of a temporal nature, we could still remember, not only that eternity is of greater moment than any thing that relates merely to the present life, but that all outward things, and even civil liberty itself, ought to be considered as subordinate and subservient to an everlasting happiness. It would not be an honour to us to be wholly unconcerned about the rights of ourselves and others, as men and as citizens, yet the great object of our duty, and, we hope, of our desires, is to watch for your souls, as those that must give an account to God.

We therefore earnestly beseech every one who is nominally of our communion, not to be satisfied with a form of godliness, denying the power thereof. The substance of religion is the same to all denominations, neither is there any preference due to one before another, but in so far as it has superior advantages in leading men to the saving knowledge of the only living and true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, whom to know is life eternal.

“There is no doubt that you look upon it as a happy circumstance in the late revolution, that the rights of conscience are unalienably secured, and even interwoven with the very constitutions of the several states. The duty which you owe to the community at large for this inestimable blessing, is to support civil authority, by being subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake, and by living quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty. It is a truth of much moment, and particularly to be remembered at this time, not only that the virtue of the people in general is of consequence to the stability of every civil society, but that it is of much greater moment to the stability of republics or free states, than those of a different kind. In monarchies, a sense of honour, the subordination of rank in society, and the vigour of despotic authority, supply in some measure the place of virtue, in producing public order; but in free states, where the power is ultimately lodged in the body of the people, if there is a general corruption of the mass, the government itself must speedily be dissolved.

“You cannot but have observed, that the war has occasioned great irregularity and relaxation as to the observation of the Sabbath, and attendance on public ordinances. In some places congregations are broken up; in some places, for a considerable time, attendance was difficult, dangerous or impossible. The public service also, which made some things really necessary, was often made a pretence for irregularity when no necessity existed. It is therefore your duty, now that peace and harmony have returned, to revive and restore the respect due to the Sabbath and the worship of God’s sanctuary. The regular administration of Divine

ordinances is a blessing that cannot be too highly valued or purchased at too great a price. We hope, therefore, that you will, in general, exert yourselves, and do every thing in your power that will serve to promote so noble a purpose. Be cheerful and liberal in assisting to educate pious youth for the ministry. Let vacant congregations be active and diligent to supply themselves with fixed pastors; and let those which have fixed pastors strengthen their hands in their Master's work, not only by obedience in the Lord, but by making such provisions for their comfortable subsistence as that their duty may be practicable. We make this demand clearly and explicitly, because it is founded upon the plainest reason—upon the word of God—upon general or common utility, and your own interest, and make no doubt that wherever there is true religion, it will be heard and complied with.

“We look upon it as a very happy circumstance in the political revolution that has happened in America, that neither in its rise nor progress was it intermixed or directed by religious controversy. No denominations of Christians among us have any reason to fear oppression or restraint, or any power to oppress others. We therefore recommend charity, forbearance, and mutual service. Let the great and only strife be who shall love the Redeemer most, and who shall serve him with the greatest zeal. We recommend the strict exercise of discipline to the societies under our care. Let us not seek to increase our numbers by relaxation, but to justify the excellence of our principles by the inoffensive, exemplary and holy conversation of those who embrace them. The ultimate trial of religious truth is by its moral influence; therefore, as he is undoubtedly the best husbandman who raises the richest crops, so these are the best principles, which make the best men. This is the great rule laid down by our Saviour, by their fruits ye shall know them, By order,

“JOHN MCCREBY, *Moderator.*”

**FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.**

**LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS TOWARD REPAIRING THE DILAPIDATIONS  
SUFFERED BY THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CORNER  
OF MARKET AND BANK STREETS, PHILADELPHIA, AT  
THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH DURING THEIR  
OCCUPATION OF PHILADELPHIA IN THE  
REVOLUTION.**

(From the original document in the possession of the Session of the  
First Church.)

[FIRST PAGE]

Philad<sup>a</sup> May 14<sup>th</sup> 1779.

We the undersigners after having made an Estimate, as  
near as the present times will allow; find that to Pew the  
Market Street Presbyterian Church upon the lower Floor  
will cost Four Thousand Six Hundred and Fifty pounds.  
£4650

Sign'd { Robert McKnight  
          { John Hall

NB. The above is Exclusive of the Windows whereof  
Ninety panes are broke and Whitewashing the house which  
with other incidental Charges will cost at least £350 more

[SECOND PAGE]

Philadelphia 19<sup>th</sup> May 1779.

Whereas the First Presbyterian Church of this City in Market Street, was greatly abused and damaged by the Enemy while they were in possession of this City, the Windows being broken and the Pews totally remov'd and destroyed, so that in its present ruinous Situation it is absolutely unfit for the Celebration of Public Worship: And Whereas it would be highly disreputable to the Society, who formerly worshipped in that Church, and grievous to our fellow Christians of other Denominations (who not having Suffer'd the like Outrage on their places of Worship, are doubtless disposed to Sympathize with us,) to see one of the Oldest and most noted Churches in this City Suffered to remain in such a Situation as must endanger the total dispersion of the Society; We therefore the Subscribers, willing to contribute to the repair of the said Church and desirous of having the Public Worship of God continued in it, do promise to pay to the Committee of the Said Church the respective sums Subscrib'd by us and affixed to Our Names.



## [THIRD PAGE]

James Mease . . . . .	£100 0 0	William Sharp	paid	£100. 0 0
paid additional . . . . .	50 0 0	Benj Rush	paid	37.10.0
Sam <sup>l</sup> . Crawford - x . . . . .	£ 50 <sup>p</sup> d	Iacob Rush . . . . .	-paid--	20. 0 0
Sam Caldwell - paid . . . . .	£ 50 }	Arch <sup>d</sup> Gardner . . . . .		20. 0 0
and in addition . . . . .	50 } paid	David Lapeley	paid	40. 0 0
And <sup>r</sup> . Caldwell . . . . .	£100. 0 0 }	Hugh Henry added	£22.10 pd	15 0 0
in addition	paid . . 50. 0 0 }		pd	22.10 p <sup>d</sup>
James Wilson	paid . . £100.00.0	Ann Dunkin added	£22.10	15 0 0 <sup>pd</sup>
John Mease . . . . .	50	Alex <sup>r</sup> . Nelson	paid . . .	7.10
in addition . . . . .	50 paid	John Shields Twenty Pounds		20.00 0
David M:Cullough . . . . .	50 pd	Seventeen ds		17 10
Robert Bayly	p <sup>d</sup> . . 37.10	paid { do in addition	Ten poun <sup>A</sup>	10.00 0 <sup>pd</sup> 1
y John Chevalier . . . . .	56. 5 }	he addd. £12.10. to make it £50	12.10 . . .	
paid		paid Nath <sup>a</sup> . Irwin ad <sup>d</sup> . £50 . . .		{ 50 . . .
additional . . . . .	18.15 }			{ 50 . . .
Chas Thomson	paid . . 37.10	y John Hood . . . . .		75 paid
John Dickinson	pd . . £100.00.0	he added £15 . . & £18.15 is		33.15 <sup>pd</sup>
y John Galloway . . . . .	75 paid	James McCrea . . . . .		75:paid
additional . . . . .	45	Andrew Tybout	paid	30. 0 0
Charles Stewart . . . . .	40. 0	ad	pd.	30. 0 0
added	paid . . 10 . . . . .	pd James Kerr . . . . .	pd	30: 0 0
y John Donaldson . . . . .	£ 50. p <sup>d</sup>	ddet . . . . .	pd	30 . . . . .
he added . . . . .	50 pd	John Serviss	paid . . .	7.10.00
pd M. Young . . . . .	£ 50 pd	additional . . . . .		3.15 . .
y William Jackson . . . . .	37.10 pd	Andrew Parkhill . . . . .		6. 0 0
y Sam <sup>l</sup> . Young	p <sup>d</sup> . . £ 80--0 <sup>paid</sup>	y John Gray	paid . . .	6 0 . .
pd Thomas Darroch . . . . .	75 <sup>paid</sup>	y Wm. Bidford	pd . . .	37 10 . .
y Hugh Stocker . . . . .	£ 50 pd	pd Jehosp <sup>t</sup> . Polk . . . . .		1.37.10 0
John Murray . . . . .	£ 10.	pd added . . . . .		37.10
Widow Roan . . . . .	£ 3. 0 0	add . . . . .		7.10 <sup>paid</sup>
pd William Barber . . . . .	£ 7.10-	y Rich <sup>d</sup> . Porter	p <sup>d</sup> .	50 . . . . .
Is <sup>a</sup> . Milligan	p <sup>d</sup> . . 37.10.0	Robert Porter	paid	30. 0 . .
pd Geo. Campbell . . . . .	37.10.0 <sup>p<sup>d</sup></sup>	John James	paid	22-10-0
I. Donaldson added for him .	62.10 p <sup>d</sup>	paid Jona D Sergeant	p <sup>d</sup> . . .	75. 0 0
pd George Henry . . . . .	11. 5 . .	John Fullerton	p <sup>d</sup> . . .	60. 0 0 <sup>2</sup>
Hugh Miter	pd . . 25. 0			91.16.3
adl . . . . .	5 0			paid £ 25
John Marshall	pd . . 11..5.	Andrew Forsyth . . . . .		25 0 0
addition	pd . . 7.10 <sup>pd</sup>	he added . . . . .		15 . . . . .
James Fisher	pd . . 11.50 <sup>pd</sup>	Will : Miller ad <sup>d</sup> £20 . . . .		60 . . . }
				30 . . . }
		pd Thomas Irwin p <sup>d</sup> ad <sup>d</sup> . £20 . .		75 . . p <sup>d</sup> .
				30 . . }
		ad <sup>a</sup> 19. 7.6 . . .		19. 7.6 } p <sup>d</sup>
		James Read . . . . .		37.10.0

<sup>1</sup> 17.10 written over 10.00.<sup>2</sup> \$1.16.3 written over 60.0.0.

## [FOURTH PAGE]

paid Jn <sup>o</sup> Murray . . . . .	£100	pd John Brown 80 Dollars <sup>a</sup> p <sup>d</sup> . . .	80 Dollars <sup>a</sup>
addition pd . . . . .	50		18 15.0
pd Robert Smith p <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	22.10	M. Blair McClusahan . . . . .	22 10pd
John Grant . . . . .	25 <sup>a</sup>	M. John Barclay . . . . .	7.10p <sup>d</sup>
	40 pd	D. J. Jas. Wilson . paid . . . . .	18:00:0
Benj <sup>a</sup> . Condy . . . . .	80 -- pd	William Rush . paid . . . . .	75. ---
he added £10 . . . . .	10 -----	Joseph Baker . . . . .	25. 0
James Hunter . . . . .	50 -----		10.10
Jn <sup>o</sup> Williams p <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	30 ---	Joseph Rush ad <sup>d</sup> . £15 - paid . . .	15. -----
he added p <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	80 ---		15 -----
Da Jackson paid . . . . .	37.10	D. J. John Dunlap . paid . . . . .	22 10 ---
he added . . . . .	37.10	Arch <sup>d</sup> . McSparran . paid . . . . .	75.
James Caldwell . . . . .	50 ----	Joseph Hague . . . . .	15 0 0
in addition pd . . . . .	25 ----	y Mathew Hand paid 7 Dollars . . .	2.12.6
p <sup>d</sup> . Joseph Carron . . . . .	37 10 paid	y M <sup>o</sup> Martin-paid-80-D <sup>o</sup> -----	11. 5 ---
Mrs. Jpr. Cochran . . . . .	37 10 paid	Brant Decline . paid . . . . .	4.17 ---
Eph. Blaine . . . . .	37 10 --	John Marie . paid . . . . .	22.10
Rob <sup>t</sup> . Wilson 2 Dosa } Pew Hinges }	40	Jn <sup>o</sup> Blair-----paid . . . . .	£11. 5
p <sup>d</sup> . L. Bean . . . . .	23 10 p <sup>d</sup> .	Rob <sup>t</sup> . Bethell . paid . . . . .	£ 50 ---
Tho M <sup>o</sup> Kean paid . . . . .	100. 0 0	p <sup>d</sup> . Hugh M <sup>o</sup> Cormick p <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	15. 0 --
Rob <sup>t</sup> M <sup>o</sup> Ke <sup>t</sup> . . . . .	60	p <sup>d</sup> . Cha <sup>s</sup> . W. peale p <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	8.15 --
he added £ 80 in . . . . .	80 paid	James Barr . paid . . . . .	11. 5
William Semple pd . . . . .	37.10. --	p <sup>d</sup> William Allison porder . . . . .	100 ----
y James Loughhead . . . . .	15 paid	paid James Clark ----- paid . . .	37.10.0
Jn <sup>o</sup> . Patton -----	22.10 ---	David Thompson, p <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	11 -- 5
M Thom Barclay . . . . .	15 p <sup>d</sup> .	Joseph Ker -----	£ 30. --
Jn <sup>o</sup> . Taylor . . . . .	£ 7 10 --	p <sup>d</sup> Ja Wilson Clk p <sup>d</sup> -- . . . . .	11. 5 --
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Smith -----	£ 7 10. ---	p <sup>d</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> . Sam <sup>l</sup> . Davidson pord <sup>r</sup> . . . .	11. 5 pd
p <sup>d</sup> . James Armstrong . . . . .	15 ---	Iane Correy . . . . .	77.10.0
Rob <sup>t</sup> . Paisley . . . . .	15. ---	George Kelso } Sam <sup>l</sup> . Kelso }	p <sup>d</sup> . ---- 7.10 --
added . . . . .	11 5 paid	John Little . p <sup>d</sup> -- . . . . .	75. 0 0
p <sup>d</sup> J. M Nisbitt . . . . .	50. 0 0		
p <sup>d</sup> . Alex <sup>r</sup> . Nisbitt . . . . .	18.15. ---	pd Marget Henderson p <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	15. 0 0
John Bayly Jun <sup>r</sup> pd . . . . .	11 5	she added £ 22.10 p <sup>d</sup>	
M Alex <sup>r</sup> . Stewart -----	15 ---- paid		
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<sup>a</sup> 18 15.0 written over 50 Dollars.

<sup>a</sup> 40 written over 25.

<sup>b</sup> Illegible.

## [FIFTH PAGE]

Mrs. Dunn	£ 7.10.0	p <sup>d</sup> Anne Dumkin addition	£ 75
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M <sup>rs</sup> Cummins	(paid) . . 15. 0.0	paid Robert Stevenson	p <sup>d</sup> . . . . 50. 0.0
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\* 50. 0.0 written over 2. 0.0.

† 60 written over 50.

## [SIXTH PAGE]

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[TWELFTH PAGE]

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## RECORD OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY

*THE HISTORY OF MARION PRESBYTERY: Its Churches, Elders, Ministers, Missionary Societies, etc. Edited and Compiled by Rev. A. C. Crist. N. p., 1908. 12mo, pp. 352; cloth.*

Marion Presbytery appears to cover four counties in the State of Ohio, and within its bounds the editor of this history has resided from early childhood. He had too an inheritance of documents and memoranda made or gathered by Dr. Henry Shedd, who came to the region as a missionary, and labored there for fifty-seven years. In the present volume are brief chapters on the planting and later history of Presbyterianism there. These are followed by historical sketches of the churches of the four counties, biographical sketches of the clergy, dead and living, with many portraits. There are also sketches of various missionary and other organizations, and kindred matter. The editor has felt it his duty to put into permanent form the historical and biographical data in his possession, and though he secured the approval and coöperation of the Presbytery, has effected his purpose without expense to that body. For this he deserves the hearty thanks of all within the Presbytery, as well as of many beyond its bounds.

*HISTORICAL SKETCH of West Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, Delaware: 1868-1908. Rev. Albert N. Keigwin, D. D., Pastor Emeritus, 1904. Rev. Alexander Alison, Jr., Pastor, 1905. Compiled and prepared in connection with the Celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary, November 1, 1908. Isaac S. Baird, Historian. Wilmington, Del.: Printed by C. M. Smith Printing and Stationery Company. N. d. 8vo, pp. 55; stitched.*

The historian modestly alleges that his chief fitness for his task lies in the fact that he has been an eye-witness of and a participant in all the experiences of the forty years here described. It is assuredly a great gain to have such a record at first hand. The West Church grew out of the Central Presbyterian Church of Wilmington by a simple process of expansion, and passed through a period of struggle with its debts to the present state of enlarged prosperity and usefulness.

*HISTORICAL SERMON, Preached by the Pastor, Rev. Robert L. Bachman, D. D., in the Second Presbyterian Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, September 23, 1906. Knoxville, Tenn. N. d. 8vo, pp. 53; cloth.*

That this sermon of 1906 has but now been published, we cannot affirm, but as it has only now reached us, we gladly give it the benefit of the doubt. It were indeed hard to imagine that any Presbyterian or Reformed pastor who had printed a history of his parish, should wait two years and more before lodging a copy with the Historical Society of his Church; and we shall not stretch our imagination so far in this particular case.

This particular sermon is indeed more worthy of preservation than many others preached on similar occasions. It handles dates and names and facts with an interest in precision and an absence of the familiar platitudinarianism—And it is richly illustrated with portraits and views. In the absence of an extended and precise parish history, preserving original documents and data, such a sermon as this is of much use. One part of that use, should be its power to awaken such an interest in the local history as shall secure the taking of all possible precautions for the conservation of the full parish archives and records before the time comes to apologize for their "regretted disappearance," by fire, flood or felonious abstraction.

*1858-1908. SYNOD OF MINNESOTA, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Historical Addresses delivered at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Organization of Synod. October 14-19, 1908: House of Hope Church, St. Paul. Published by Order of Synod. St. Paul, Minnesota, 1909. 8vo, pp. 99; stitched.*

The addresses are as follows:—(1) The Presbyterian Church in Minnesota Prior to 1858; by the Rev. John P. Williamson, D. D. (2) The First Quarter Century, 1858—1883; by the Rev. Maurice D. Edwards, D. D. (3) The Second Quarter Century, 1883—1908; by the Rev. Robert N. Adams, D. D. (4) Presbyterian Histories by various authors. (5) History of Sabbath School Mission Work; by R. F. Sulzer. (6) Reminiscences, by the Rev. Charles Thayer, D. D.

We are very sure that the time of the Synod was well spent in listening to these addresses of solid historical value, and its funds equally well spent in putting them into permanent form. The book has the additional value given by many portraits of those prominent in the history of the Synod.



*HISTORICAL ADDRESS delivered before the "Friends of old Drawyers" Presbyterian Church, near Odessa, Delaware, on Sunday, June 7, A. D. 1908, at the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Congregation. By Hon. Anthony Higgins, ex-United States Senator from Delaware and Member of the Historical Society of Delaware. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, xlix. The Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1908. 8vo, pp. 20; stitched.*

There are two features of historical interest in connection with this church apart from its antiquity and all that makes up its record. One is the illustration which it afforded at its organization of the mingled inheritance of different national strains that characterizes the American Presbyterian Church. And it is a great pleasure to see that Senator Higgins has seized an appropriate occasion to develop and emphasize this fact. The other feature to which we allude is that the living sons and daughters of the parish love the old sanctuary, and have defended the structure not only from the dilapidations of time, but from those more insidious destroyers who have torn down or modernized so many precious old churches under the plea of making improvements. All honor to the "Friends of Old Drawyers," and may the few historic churches that have so far escaped destruction or renovation also find friends as reverent and as efficient.

*HISTORICAL SKETCH of Zion's Reformed Church, Lehighton, Pennsylvania: 1873-1908. Prepared by the Rev. D. A. Winter, Pastor. Published by the Consistory. Lehighton: Lehighton Press Printery [1908]. 8vo, pp. 24; stitched.*

Astonishing as it may seem, the historian of this young church already suffers from a dearth of records. Even his knowledge of the date of the organization of the congregation is derived from a chance newspaper, and is communicated to the reader of the present Sketch by means of a slip pasted between the leaves. The more honor to him for doing the best he could and for putting the results of his studies beyond the possibility of loss.

*CHARLES NISBET, first President of Dickinson College; his book, 1736-1804. By Sarah Woods Parkinson. Carlisle, Pa.: Sarah Woods Parkinson, 1908. 12mo, pp. 14; stitched.*

**HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES** of the *Presbytery of St. Cloud.* (Text.) *Prepared by direction of the Presbytery: Rev. E. V. Campbell, D. D.* St. Cloud, Minnesota: The Journal Press Company, n. d. 8vo, pp. 71; cloth.

The Presbyterian Synod of Minnesota in 1892 created out of the Presbytery of St. Paul, three Presbyteries; among them that of St. Cloud. Dr. Campbell seems to have fulfilled the duty committed to him by Presbytery in a business-like manner. We have here a succinct account of the history of each parish from its organization, with evidence that the original records have been examined, and with pictures of all the church buildings. Dr. Campbell has made a useful book.

**GOLDEN JUBILEE.** *Westminster Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan, October 5-7, 1907.* 1857-1907. N. p., n. d. 8vo, pp. 110; cloth.

A report, very tastefully printed, of all that was said and sung and prayed for at the three days' celebration of the golden jubilee of a congregation originally coming forth from the Fort Street Church, under the leadership of the Rev. Henry Neill, to unfurl the blue banner of "old school" principles.

1882-1908. **DIAMOND JUBILEE and Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church, LaPorte, Indiana.** John B. Donaldson, D. D., Pastor. LaPorte, Indiana: Herald Print. N. d. [1908]. 8vo, pp. 73; stitched.

This pamphlet contains a full record (with data) of the communicant members of the church of LaPorte, 1832-1844; the First Church, 1844-1871; the Second Church, 1844-1871; the Presbyterian Church of LaPorte, 1871-1908. And it deserved a good and permanent cover.

**A TRIBUTE to the Memory of John P. Cleveland, D. D., called from the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church in Detroit to enter upon his duties as President of Marshall College in 1837.** By David M. Cooper, Pastor Emeritus of Memorial Presbyterian Church, Detroit. N. p., n. d. 8vo, pp. 14; stitched.

This biographical study was printed in connection with the unveiling of Dr. Cleveland's portrait at Alma College.

**THE GENEVA BOOK:** *comprising a History of Geneva College and a biographical Catalogue of the Alumni and many Students.* [by] William Melancthon Glasgow, D. D., Member of the Pennsylvania State Historical Society, Presbyterian Historical Society, etc. Philadelphia: Press of the Westbrook Publishing Co., 1908. 8vo, pp. 445; cloth.

This is the first attempt to write the history of Geneva College, founded by the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Western Ohio, sixty years ago. Dr. Glasgow has conscientiously striven to make an accurate record of the origin and growth of the Institution, and under some difficulties, especially as regards the lists of students in earlier years. While engaged in it he made much use of the resources of the library of this Society, and the college is to be congratulated that he lived to complete it. The biographical catalogue of alumni and students will be a welcome edition to the "finding lists" of many investigators.

**SHELDON JACKSON,** *Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska.* By Robert Laird Stewart, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary of Lincoln University, Pa., author of "The Land of Israel," etc. Illustrated. New York, Chicago and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, n. d. [1908]. 8vo, pp. 488; cloth.

This biography is a "moving picture" of Presbyterian Home Mission Work in regions of the United States while these were being transformed from wilderness peopled by Indians into civilized Territories and States. With the ardor and persistence of the hunter after fowl, the missionary pursues the emigrants, and lets no company settle on any spot without his soon being there to gather some of them into a church. And in advance of the settlers, he penetrates the wilderness to find its aboriginal Indian inhabitants and gather some of them in the same way. What comes under the reader's view is not something circumscribed and limited, from which, as from a sample, he may form a fairly good idea of the whole work. Dr. Jackson worked on the whole region; and what he did was at the beginnings of all that has been done, and was in large part the whole beginning of what now appears in sub-divisions of missionary work that are severally great movements.

This book has the quality of printed archives of glorious missionary achievement. But the manner of setting these forth "is the story of a busy, adventurous and singularly romantic life."

SAML. T. LOWRIE.

*RECOLLECTIONS OF FRANKFORD: 1855-1873. By James Price, D. D. Papers read before the Historical Society of Frankford. From Vol. I, No. 7. [Philadelphia, 1908.] 8vo, pp. [4], 13-44; stitched.*

The author of this interesting paper is well known to the members of The Presbyterian Historical Society, which he has served so long and faithfully. The Frankford here described is the Frankford he knew, during a residence of some quarter of a century in that section of Philadelphia. The paper is full of the charm of personal reminiscences of localities greatly changed and people mostly gone. They center inevitably about the church and religious life of the place. The author was on terms of Christian fellowship not only with the Presbyterians, the hundredth anniversary of whose church is fully described, but with the Welsh family, who were the mainstay of the Episcopal parish, and with the priest of the Roman Catholic parish. Upon the ancient meeting houses of the Friends amid venerable trees, also his eyes lingered affectionately. But he gives, as is proper, special attention to the people of his own denomination, and special prominence to the Seventh United Presbyterian Church of Frankford.

*PROCEEDINGS of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Ordination of the Rev. J. K. Wight to the Ministry. N. p., n. d. 8vo, pp. 26; stitched.*

Joseph Kingsbury Wight was ordained by the Presbytery of Troy, August 23, 1848; and the sixtieth anniversary of the event was celebrated in the Presbyterian Church, New Hamburg, N. Y. on August 23 1908. Mr. Wight himself preached the sermon on that occasion, which the present pamphlet contains, together with the proceedings at a less formal celebration on the succeeding day. The whole, with appropriate portraits, makes an attractive and fitting memorial of a long life of useful service.

*A HISTORY of the Reformed (Dutch) Church of America and Souvenir of the New York Avenue Reformed (Dutch) Church, Newark, N. J. Organized May 23, 1848. May 23, 1908. N. p., n. d. Oblong 8vo, pp. 32; stitched.*

This souvenir contains a brief sketch of the denominational history, and fuller notes of the parish history, including notices and portraits of the pastors. Unusual and attractive in its make up, we hope it may not prove inconvenient and frail for preservation.

**MEMORIES OF THREESCORE YEARS AND TEN.** *By Richard McIlvaine, D. D., LL. D. Illustrated.* New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1908. 8vo, pp. xiv, 11-383; cloth.

The scope and interest of these memories of a long life may be inferred from the preface of the author:—

“This volume was begun with special reference to my kinspeople. As it developed it seemed to contain matter of interest to a wider circle; sketches of honored and useful men and women, whose memory ought to be cherished; scenes in bygone days and stirring times, little known to the present generation; suggestions drawn from experience, which may be of value, specially to the young entering on the duties of life.

“It covers a period of nearly ‘threescore years and ten,’ spent under a variety of conditions, embracing: childhood; school days; college, university and seminary life; a visit in youth to Ireland, the home of my ancestors; travel and study abroad at a later period, pastoral work in Amelia, Farmville and Lynchburg, Virginia; service in the army of the Confederate States as lieutenant and chaplain; the progress and close of the Civil War and of Reconstruction in Virginia; a period of service as Secretary of Missions of the Southern Presbyterian Church (1872-1883), including Reconstruction in South Carolina (1872-5); presidency of Hampden-Sidney College (1883-1904), and member of the Constitutional Convention of Virginia (1901-2). It includes residence outside of my native State in Edinburgh, Scotland; Columbia, South Carolina; and Baltimore, Maryland.”

**FOOTSTEPS IN A PARISH.** *An Appreciation of Maltbie Davenport Babcock as a Pastor. By John Timothy Stone, his successor in Brown Memorial Church, Baltimore.* “Others have laboured; and ye are entered into their labour.” New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908. 12mo, pp. 98; cloth.

The extraordinary personal influence of Dr. Babcock still lingers in the world, far beyond the bounds of “a Parish.” In attempting to analyze the causes of such an influence there must remain a large residuum (what we call “personality”) that defies analysis. But Dr. Stone helps us to understand the character behind the influence and to see how laboriously it was won by constant thoughtfulness for others and a will to help them.

*1808-1908. COMMEMORATION of the Ordination of John Milton Whiton to the Ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Antrim, N. H.* N. p. Printed for the Family, 1908. 8vo, pp. 42; stitched.

Dr. Whiton was born in 1785, was ordained in 1808, was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Antrim till the end of 1852, and died in 1856. The pamphlet here noticed includes a full account of the services commemorating the centennial of Dr. Whiton's ordination, and is made more interesting and valuable by the illustrations it contains.

*IN MEMORIAM: Dr. W. C. Roberts.* N. p., n. d. Square 8vo, pp. 15; stitched.

This pamphlet contains the addresses of Drs. Frederick W. Hinitt and Henry E. Doaker on the occasion of presenting a portrait of Dr. Roberts to the Central University. There is also a reproduction of the portrait itself.

*1858-1908. SEMI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION: Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Queens, Borough of Queens, New York City.* N. p., n. d. 8vo, pp. 7; stitched.

A brief historical sketch and list of members.

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## NOTES

### LETTERS OF PROVOST JOHN EWING.

Through the efforts of Vice-Provost Edgar F. Smith the University Library has received a portion of the correspondence of Provost John Ewing, second Provost of the University. The letters have been in the possession of the family of Doctor Ewing, and it is through the kindness of Mrs. Wright, a descendant of Doctor Ewing, that they are now placed on deposit in the Library.

There are, in all, six letters from Doctor Ewing to his wife Sarah, whose portrait was recently presented to the University by Mr. Dickinson Sergeant.

Doctor Ewing was connected with the University while it was still the College of Philadelphia. In 1758 he acted as the substitute for Dr. William Smith, the first Provost, while the latter was in England collecting funds for the College. In 1779 he was elected Provost and remained in that office until his death, in 1802.

The letters are written by Doctor Ewing while in England for the

purpose of soliciting subscriptions for the Academy at Newark, Delaware, now Delaware College. This Academy, which was founded in 1742 by Dr. Francis Alison as a private school, became important as an educational institution. In 1754 Doctor Alison became rector and professor in the College of Philadelphia. Through his influence Doctor Ewing was sent over to collect money for this Academy as he had attended the school in his youth.

The letters all deal with Doctor Ewing's efforts in this direction, which were not successful because of the impending differences between the Colonies and the Mother Country. They were very interesting as illustrations of the strong feelings existing. One letter, dated July 9, 1775, says that the ministry would be glad to accept almost any terms rather than involve the country in civil war. An extract from a letter to Doctor Ewing from a correspondent in Aberdeen, whose name has been cut off, reads as follows:

"They are greatly distressed with the blood that has been already shed in the two skirmishes that have already happened and the disgrace that the troops have met with in their encounter with men whom they have been taught to look upon as cowards who would not fight."

The same correspondent speaks of having resisted the temptation to go to the theatre in Edinburgh, and raises the question whether Doctor Ewing will be able to do the same in London where Garrick was still acting.

In another letter Doctor Ewing refers rather slightly to Doctor Witherspoon of New Jersey College (now Princeton), who was also in England soliciting aid for his institution. There was apparently some rivalry between the two bent on the same mission, and Doctor Ewing more than broadly hints that Doctor Witherspoon set up an erroneous claim as to greater age of the New Jersey College. Doctor Ewing writes to his wife to secure from Doctor Alison affidavits as to the date of the establishment of his school.

The letters are full of other interesting details illustrative of the events of the times. There is, *e. g.*, a reference to the non-importation agreement of the rebellious Colonists, and the Doctor wonders whether he could risk bringing some presents with him for his wife and children. The letters will be carefully mounted, and preserved with the hundreds of other original documents connected with the history of the University that the Library now possesses. Steps are being taken to have all these documents calendared.

—From *Old Penn Weekly Review*, for February 20, 1909.

#### PRESBYTERIANS IN OLD NEW YORK.

"A History of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the City of New York," by Shepherd Knapp, recently published by that church's trustees,

has much in its earlier chapters that is of interest to those outside the Presbyterian communion. As a distinct organisation the Brick Church dates from 1809, but to explain how it came into being Mr. Knapp has thought it best to present in some detail the beginnings of Presbyterianism in New York City. Presbyterianism in New York began in 1706, not without some clashes with the authorities. The first church was in Wall street. An off-shoot of this a little later was set up on Cedar street. By 1766 the Presbyterians felt themselves strong enough to appeal to the city council for a grant of land, alleging "the distinguished generosity by which our brethren of Trinity church were supplied." Up to that time they had found it impossible to secure a charter or any form of incorporation, "owing largely to the determined opposition of the vestry of Old Trinity, who were reluctant to share with others the privileges enjoyed by the Established Church." Trustees, whose obligation was only moral, held such property as they had. To secure the payment of legacies was, however, "extremely difficult." An appeal to England for relief was made in 1766, but Terrick, who was then Bishop of London, "declared himself its enemy, appearing twice before the Board in opposition to it." This "Board" was the Board of Trade, to which the matter had been referred, after a fashion characteristic of the Georgian era, by the Privy Council. The report was unfavorable and the Presbyterians had to get on as best they might without incorporation till 1784, when the State Legislature passed an act to incorporate the churches of all religious denominations, allowing each of them "to hold an estate of £1,200 sterling per annum, gross revenue." The limit quite sufficed for the Presbyterians of that time, but it afterward made some trouble for Trinity church.

Curious suggestions of the ecclesiastical manners of colonial days abound in Mr. Knapp's narrative. We find, for instance, that in 1778 the deacons "endeavored to increase their ability to aid the poor by investing in two lottery tickets," and the minutes of the session clerk have many strange details of disciplinary investigations.

If Trinity appears in no very kindly light in colonial times matters were quite different immediately after the Revolution, for we find that in 1783, when the expelled Presbyterians returned to find their churches wrecked, the vestry of Trinity church proposed "in a spirit of Christian courtesy that St. George's and St. Paul's chapels should be used alternately by the Presbyterians until their own place of worship had been restored." This arrangement continued in fact for some eight months. Another act of Christian comity that deserves memorial occurred in 1787, when the Corporation of Trinity "of its own free-will and entirely unsolicited conveyed to the First Presbyterian Church of New York a piece of ground on Robinson street (now known as Nos. 3 and 5 Park Place), for the purpose of providing a site for the parsonage of the senior minister." The full text of the Trinity minutes in regard



to this transaction is given by Mr. Knapp and shows that the Scotch Presbyterian Church received a like gift.

It may, perhaps, be worthy of note, as bearing on the relief from taxation of church property, that when the Brick Church proposed to sell property on Beekman street, which had been granted to it by the city, it was held by the commissioners of the Sinking Fund, since the church had enjoyed the city's protection and exemption from taxation for eighty years, during which the value of its property had been greatly increased by improvements that had involved the city in debt and increased taxation, that one-fourth of the proceeds of the land should go to the city. (Pp. 264-269.) It is an interesting precedent.

—From *The Churchman*, March 6, 1909.

#### THE PRESBYTERIAN EVANGELICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

The above name is familiar to the student of church extension in Philadelphia. But some confusion has been caused by the fact that two distinct societies bearing that name, and with similar objects and methods, successively took part in the work of organizing new parishes and assisting weak churches already organized. The earlier society was formed in 1807, at the suggestion of Dr. Archibald Alexander, then pastor of the Third Church. The second was formed in 1839, years after the earlier one had been dissolved.

An account of the formation and work of the earlier society is found in a letter from Dr. Alexander, read at a meeting of the Board of Managers of the new society, held July 7, 1840, and subsequently published in *The Presbyterian*, part of which is as follows:

“EVANGELICAL SOCIETY.—The Society, lately instituted in this city, under this name, is not properly a continuance or resuscitation of the former Society so denominated, but a new institution, regulated and governed by its own constitution and laws: yet, on account of the identity of name and similarity of objects, and because it embraces some members who belonged to the old Society, it has been the occasion of bringing that unpretending and obscure institution into greater notoriety than it ever possessed, or aspired to, while it was in existence. It seems proper, therefore, and is called for, to give a brief account of the ‘Evangelical Society’ which was formed above thirty years ago, by a number of persons belonging to the several Presbyterian churches in this city,

“In the year 1807, when this Society was instituted, there were only four Presbyterian Churches in Philadelphia, known as the First, Second, Third and Fourth. The only other house of worship which belonged to this denomination, was a building in the Northern Liberties, on Second

street, which belonged to the Second Presbyterian Church, and where a small congregation convened every Lord's Day, and were supplied with preaching, by the Pastors of the Second Church, but were not then organized into a separate church. This was the germ of the First Presbyterian Church of the Northern Liberties, which grew to so great a size under the ministration of the late Rev. James Patterson. Of the five Presbyterian Pastors in the city, at that time, the health of three was infirm, and there were then no aids to the Pastor in giving instruction to his flock, except domestic instruction, which had too much fallen into disuetude.—Preparation for the pulpit was then also deemed more indispensable, than it has been, by many, since; and occupied the best part of the time of the minister. The elders of the churches had not then learned that any duty of instruction, out of their own families, devolved on them; so that the Pastor stood alone, as far as communicating knowledge was concerned; and it cannot, therefore, be considered wonderful, or any sign of unfaithfulness in pastoral duties, that much was left undone, even in the instruction of their own congregations, which it was desirable should have been done. Yet there were a goodly number of pious elders and laymen in these congregations, who were not unwilling to labour, if any proper field of exertion could be designated. Indeed, some of them were not only men of intelligence, but of glowing zeal; but they stood, and with concern, viewed the surrounding and increasing spiritual desolation, without putting forth a hand, for they knew not what to do, and were afraid to go out of their proper sphere. There was, indeed, one man in the city, to whom Philadelphia owes as much, as it relates to vital piety, as to any one who ever resided here. This was the late JOSEPH EASTBURN, a name which will be held in cherished remembrance by the poor and afflicted in spirit. Of him it may truly be said that, like his Master, 'he went about doing good.' How much of his time was spent in acts of pious benevolence, and in visiting the sick and wounded in conscience, I cannot pretend to say; but there was scarcely any one in spiritual trouble, who did not immediately resort for advice and comfort, to this man of God; and he was ever ready to assist, and sympathize with, and comfort, the sons and daughters of affliction. His shop—for he was a mechanic—was the resort of such as were distressed in mind, and of such as wished to enjoy spiritual conversation. The pious zeal of this good man, could not be restrained within the narrow limits prescribed to laymen in the Presbyterian Church. On the occasion of some more than usual excitement, Mr. Eastburn began to exhort in public, and spoke with so much fervency and fluency, that the people rejoiced to hear him. Having broken the ice, he could not well draw back. His exhorting, or preaching, was not only popular, but apparently useful. He was therefore often put forward to speak, and the ardour of his own feelings impelled him to the same course. The Presbytery of Philadelphia, viewing this as an irregularity,

and considering that it might prove an inconvenient precedent, determined to give him a license to preach, under certain restrictions; not, however, as a candidate for ordination, to which he did not aspire. Mr. E. mingled with all Evangelical denominations, and sometimes spoke even in the meetings of the Friends. Thus, he continued to preach in the prison, at the Hospital, Almshouse, and other places, until the attention of the Christian public was turned to the unhappy and neglected condition of the sailors. As soon as the way was opened, and a room for worship fitted up, Mr. Eastburn began his labours of love among this people, which he continued with assiduity and success, until he was called home by the Lord of the harvest. After receiving the Presbytery's license to preach, he often supplied the pulpits of all the Presbyterian churches with much acceptableness, when the Pastors were unwell or absent. All classes and denominations of people seemed to have confidence in the sincerity of Mr. Eastburn's zeal; and often he was sent for from the country to aid pastors in seasons of religious excitement; and few preachers were more acceptable to the majority of hearers.

“While things remained in the state described above, the thought occurred to some, that a plan might be devised by which pious laymen might be advantageously occupied in giving religious instruction to the ignorant, without touching on the peculiar duties of the Pastoral office. A meeting was called, which was well attended, when the constitution of a society, to be called ‘The Evangelical Society,’ was proposed, and unanimously adopted. It consisted of a few simple principles, and some rules to regulate the meetings, which were to take place monthly. The leading principle of the Society was, that the members were not to attempt to do good merely by pecuniary contributions, but especially by personal exertions and labours. Every member of the Society was to be ‘a working man’ and in order that a field of labour might be found for each, the members were distributed into committees of two or three each, to go out into the lanes and by-ways, and into the suburbs of the city, where there were many people who attended no place of worship, and to collect the children, and as many of the adults as could be persuaded to come, into little societies for instruction and for prayer. The enterprize was engaged in with alacrity by most, and even men of high standing in society, were found collecting the young and ignorant in the remote and obscure parts of the city. And some of the members became so greatly attached to this benevolent work, that they were impatient for the time to come for meeting with their little flocks; and although the evening of the Sabbath was the only time which they were expected to spend in this work, yet some of the members regularly met the children and others under their care, regularly on another evening in the week. At this time it must be remembered, that we had no Sunday Schools: this valuable institution came into use afterwards;

and most of the societies formed by the Evangelical Society, became the germs of flourishing Sabbath Schools.

“At first, it was not in contemplation to aim at any thing but giving direct instruction to those who most needed it, and were willing to receive it; but after a while, school houses were needed for convenient places of meeting, and it was found that by a little combined exertion, such objects could be accomplished. Success in these small enterprises, led finally to the attempt to aid in erecting churches in districts of the city where they were greatly needed. The first African Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, was erected under the auspices and by the aid of this Society, and a judicious coloured preacher settled as a Pastor. Several other small churches owed their commencement to the pious enterprise and liberality of the Evangelical Society.”

The first anniversary of the new Society was held on February 23, 1840, and the account of it in *The Presbyterian* for February 29, 1840, has some features of historical interest:

“PRESBYTERIAN EVANGELICAL SOCIETY.—The first anniversary of this Society was held agreeably to public notice, in the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on Sabbath evening, 23d inst. A very large audience attended, fully one half of which was composed of men, and many of them young men. The services were interesting in a high degree, and tended to inspire a hope that something effectual would at length be attempted to supply the spiritual destitutions of Philadelphia. The venerable Dr. Green, now too infirm to take his place in the pulpit, made some very interesting statements while seated at the clerk’s desk below. During the greater part of his address, his natural force was so little abated, that his voice was heard over the large church. This father must always be heard with veneration, standing as he does in the Church almost alone, the connecting link between the past and the present. We were forcibly struck with this as he spoke of himself as having ministered to some who were brought into the kingdom through the instrumentality of the celebrated Whitefield. The men of that stirring age have long since passed from the stage of life:—‘the fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live for ever?’ Among many appropriate suggestions and counsels, the Dr. encouraged his younger brethren in this Society to effort, by the fact that the very field which they proposed to cultivate, was the one from which Whitefield and the Tennents had gathered their harvests. In corroboration he said, that when Gilbert Tennent had collected together a church, (the nucleus of the present Second Presbyterian church, Philadelphia,) he obtained the services of his brother William at his first communion; the latter, after surveying the assembled communicants, burst forth in this language: ‘Was there ever in the history of the Church, such a collection of communicants! some Presbyterians, some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Swedes, and many of no

profession whatever! yes, a company of sinners, collected and redeemed from the very gates of hell!"

"The address of Dr. Alexander bore all the characteristics of his style, when thoroughly interested in his subject—simplicity, clearness, practical sense and earnestness. He gave a brief history of a similar Society, which, at his suggestion, was established in Philadelphia about thirty years ago, and of its silent and successful operations. He also suggested various valuable counsels, and among them he encouraged the founding of Lectureships, such as have been long practised in London with success. Mr. Boardman in a few words followed, and recommended the system of lay reading, among the poor, such as has had such pleasing effects in carrying the knowledge of the Bible to the most barbarous parts of Ireland."

The officers of the Society, as elected at that meeting (February, 1840), were reported in *The Presbyterian* for April 4, 1840, as follows:

*President*—Matthew L. Bevan.

*Vice Presidents*—Chas. Chauncey, Wm. Nassau,  
Thos. Bradford, Jas. Kerr,  
Jas. Stewart, J. N. Dickson.

*Secretary*—William Darrach.

*Treasurer*—Alexander Symington.

*Directors*—Stephen Colwell, Charles Collins, Alex. Osborn, Wm. C. Morgan, John C. Capp, William Dulty, G. H. Vangelder, John Harned, William Patterson, Peter Leslie, John Stille, A. J. Miller, F. V. Krug, J. V. Colwell, Robert Earp, Jr., Edw. E. Brewster, Wm. Darrach, M. D., Solomon Allen, Winthrop Sargent, J. T. Beyles, Jas. Warren, Samuel Asbury, John McArthur, Thos. Evans, J. Engles Negus, Paul T. Jones, John M. Harper, Wm. Sherman, Moses Reed, Wm. Gibson, Nathaniel Walker, James Moorhead, W. A. Stokes, James Russell, John Scott, Geo. Durfour, Samuel Woodward, Nathl. Potts, James Schott, Wm. S. Martien, John H. Earle, Thomas Kerr, Wm. Boyd, James Dunlap, Henry Bell, Jonathan Ogden, Edwin Coolidge, Isaac Otis, Dr. Murphy, J. Gaw, James Field, Edwin Booth, Tyle Lippincott, Henry Lelar, Jr., M. Levy, Henry McKeen, A. W. Mitchell, M. D., Uriah Kitchen, T. N. Buck, F. N. Potter.

☞ All the ministers of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, who reside in the city and liberties, are, by the Constitution, Directors of the Society.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Rev Thomas Hoge, *Chairman*.

James Dunlap,

Samuel Asbury,

Dr. Wm. Darrach,

Alex. Symington.

Paul T. Jones,

Winthrop Sargent.

} *Ex officio*.





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### THE BEGINNINGS OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN ALBANY.

Address delivered at the First Presbyterian Church of Albany, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dedication of its present edifice, on Sunday night, May 23, 1909.

BY VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, STATE HISTORIAN.

There are those who idly pluck the luscious fruit but never think of the roots from whence the sap has sprung. To trace the beginnings of Presbyterianism in Albany, we must go back some decades to that radical pietistic movement in Connecticut known as the "Great Awakening" of 1740-1741, which produced radical diversities of view as to methods of Christian evangelization in many members of the New England Congregational Church. The operation of the Saybrook platform of church government favored an increase of sympathy of the Connecticut churches for the Presbyterians of the Middle Provinces, and diminished their sympathy with their conservative brethren of Massachusetts. There was a widespread fear of the establishment of Episcopacy in the colonies and the erection of an English bishopric. Just before the revolutionary war this feeling of fear and sympathy led to coöperant meetings between the Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia and the Associations of Connecticut. The main object of these efforts was to resist encroachments from the Established English Church and to promote evan-



gelization in the newer settlements. This body met annually from 1766 to 1775.<sup>1</sup>

A schism in the American Presbyterian Church caused a division from 1741 to 1758, affected indirectly by the "Great Awakening" of New England, with which William Tennent and his group of followers were severely afflicted. In those days men were known as "New Side" and "Old Side" Presbyterians. After considerable effort a reunion was brought about in 1758. "On this basis the reunited Church entered upon a new period of activity. The stricter view of Presbyterianism had prevailed over the looser in matters of church order. The newer view had prevailed over the older in that of the perspective of doctrine and its practical application."<sup>2</sup> The plan of union consummated on May 22, 1758, brought together the Presbyterian Synods of New York and Philadelphia. In 1759 its strength was greater than that of all the other Christian denominations combined, in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The Dutch Reformed Church stood second, and mostly held the Presbyterian type of polity.<sup>3</sup>

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia operated southward, westward and northward—in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas.<sup>4</sup> The materials for the beginnings of Presbyterianism are scant for the region lying north of New York City and between the Hudson and the New England border. But investigation in this region is important in this inquiry, because Albanian Presbyterians were early affiliated with the Dutchess County Presbytery. The Presbyterianism of Dutchess and Putnam Counties has been traced to a Milford, Connecticut, origin. The Milford separatists were "New Side" seceders from Congregationalism in 1741. It is believed that some of them came

<sup>1</sup> Walker. *Creeks and Platforms of Congregationalism*, pp. 514, 525, 526. See also Smucker. *The Great Awakening*, in *Proc. of American Antiquarian Society*, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson. *History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States*, pp. 34-44.

<sup>3</sup> Briggs. *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 316-317.

<sup>4</sup> Briggs, p. 330.

over into New York, about 1742, to the present Putnam County. Their first pastor was Rev. Elisha Kent, a graduate of Yale College, and grandfather of the eminent Chancellor Kent of New York. These early seceders, while leaning toward Presbyterianism, had no connection with a presbytery, but were virtually independents. Within a few years after the "Great Awakening" over thirty of these separatist churches were organized in Connecticut, and others were formed in Western Massachusetts and Vermont. What more natural than that they should push westward over their boundaries? On October 27, 1762, three ministers, Elisha Kent of the First Church of Philips precinct, Joseph Peck of the Second Church, and Solomon Mead of South Salem, consulted about forming a presbytery, "which they did by prayer, and the adoption of the Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and applied to the Synod of New York and Philadelphia to be received." Their request was granted, and the Synod added to their number John Smith and Chauncey Graham from the New York Presbytery, and Samuel Sacket and Eliphalet Ball of the Suffolk Presbytery. They were named, on May 23, 1763, the Dutchess County Presbytery, and on June 28 of that year held their first meeting, when they adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism, and engaged "to observe the Directory for worship and government."<sup>5</sup>

During the last French and Indian war many New Englanders attached to provincial regiments passed through Albany to join expeditions to the westward, along Lake George and Lake Champlain, or to participate in the campaigns against Quebec and Montreal. The familiarity gained in this way of the place, reinforced by the growing *Wanderlust* and theological difficulties—all favored emigration westward. Quebec and Montreal were captured. Preparations for peace were in the air. "In 1760, North of Ireland and Scotch people, who were engaged in mercantile trade, came to Albany in

<sup>5</sup> *Early Presbyterianism on the East Line of the Hudson. Letter of Rev. John Johnston, D. D., in American Presby. Review, 1868; Gillett. History of Presby. Church in U. S., vol. 1, pp. 145-147; Briggs, p. 330.*

goodly numbers. This fact secured the attention of Scottish people generally toward the section of country adjacent to Albany."<sup>6</sup> In 1758 there were ninety-four ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the original colonies of the Atlantic seaboard, of whom forty had come either from Ireland or Scotland. Just as the denomination was indebted to Ireland and Scotland for its clergy, it owed its increasing strength in membership.<sup>7</sup> The two elements of which we have spoken—New Englanders and Scotch-Irish—began to fuse in Albany. The language of the Reformed Dutch Church they could not understand; the Lutherans afforded even less of opportunity to them for church affiliation. Presbyterianism, in other places, was combining divergent national types—as English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, German, French and Swiss.<sup>8</sup>

On May 26, 1760, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, having received "a very pressing application" for supplies from "the English Presbyterian gentlemen of Albany," appointed Hector Alison of Drawyers, Delaware, "to supply there till the second Sabbath of July, if it suits his conveniency," and Abraham Kettletas, then on the verge of resigning his charge at Elizabethtown, N. J., to supply there four Sabbaths, beginning with the fourth Sunday of July. Synod provided, moreover, that William Tennent should "supply them afterwards, as he can conveniently."<sup>9</sup> This William Tennent, the younger, was the well-known patriot pastor at Freehold, N. J., in the American Revolution.

The next steps to formation were organization, the call of a minister and the erection of a house of worship. Application was made repeatedly to Synod to secure aid. "Their case was recommended to the attention and charity of friends of the cause."<sup>10</sup> Through great embarrassments success was

<sup>6</sup> McClure. *History of the Presby. Church at New Scotland, N. Y.*, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Craighead. *Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil*, pp. 297-298.

<sup>8</sup> Briggs, p. 343.

<sup>9</sup> *Records of the Presby. Church, 1706-1788*, p. 302; Gillett, vol. 1, p. 386.

<sup>10</sup> Gillett, vol. 1, p. 154; *Presbyterian Magazine*, 1851, pp. 129-131.

attained. Some time in 1762, William Hanna was called to be their first regular pastor, and during his pastorate the first house of worship was erected. Mr. Hanna was an educated man. He had studied Greek and Latin and taught the latter at the Rev. Samuel Finley's academy at Nottingham, Maryland; he had assisted the Rev. Dr. Robert Smith for more than a year at his school in Pequea, Pennsylvania, as a tutor of Greek and Latin, and then entered the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, where he "had passed one Examination for a Degree with the Approbation of the Trustees & would have been admitted to the Honours of the College had he attended at the Commencement last" [i.e. 1758]. In 1759, he received his degree of A.B. from Kings College (now Columbia University). From that institution he also received the honorary degree of M.A. in 1765, and the same degree was conferred on him by Yale College in 1768. Hanna was, in 1760, a communicant of the church at Salisbury, Connecticut, of which Jonathan Lee was then pastor. On May 28, 1760, the Litchfield County Association, after due examination, gave Hanna a license "to Preach the Gospel Under the Conduct & Direction," of that ministerial association, of which Hanna's pastor was the "Scribe" or secretary. It appears that Hanna was formally ordained by a Council of the Connecticut ministers, in 1761, in spite of protests from Rev. Dr. Bellamy who from the first had an unfavorable opinion of him. The next year, as already mentioned, he took up his pastoral labors in Albany; and on October 18, 1763, he was received into the Dutchess County Presbytery. During his ministry of the Albany flock he sustained "an unblemished Moral & Religious Character." On February 14, 1767, Sir William Johnson wrote to Governor Henry Moore, of New York, as follows: "Mr. Hanna, the Dissenting Clergyman at Albany has informed me that as sev<sup>l</sup> of his Congregation, are removed and about to remove to other places which must reduce his stipend he is therefore desirous to apply himself to the practise of the Law to which end he has earnestly sollicit<sup>d</sup> for my recommendat<sup>n</sup> to your Excell<sup>cy</sup> that he may be admitted. I therefore take the Liberty of laying his request

before y<sup>r</sup> Excell<sup>cy</sup>." On May 29, 1767, Hanna wrote to Johnson and thanked him for his "many Favours," and "particularly your last Letter to the Governor in my Favour which was of Singular Service to me." This letter Hanna wrote from Schenectady, and he added: "Since my Return from your House, I have attended close to M<sup>r</sup> [Peter] Silvesters Office, to acquaint myself with the Formalities & proceedings of the Court; have got my Licence, & qualified last Tuesday [May 26]: am come to Schenectady, with a Design to settle: & should be glad to have it in my Power to serve you or any of your Friends." Hanna's assumption of legal duties collided with his ministerial status, and a committee of the Presbyterian Church of Albany, on July 9, 1767, requested the Dutchess County Presbytery to grant "a Dismission from the Reverend M<sup>r</sup> William Hanna which We are the Moore Incouraged to hope for, as he has promised unanimously to concur with us in the same Request."<sup>11</sup> It is from this petition to Presbytery that we learn "that the Rev<sup>d</sup> William Hanna was regularly appointed to the Pastoral Care of this flock: that he performed the Ministerial Functions for the Space of about five years amongst us." Released from pastoral cares, Hanna now practised law at Schenectady. Apparently he soon tired of the law, for, in the spring of 1771, he expressed to Johnson "an ardent desire to take Orders in the Church of England and become a Missionary." Johnson recommended him to Rev. Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, who advised, as an alternative, that Hanna be recommended to Lord Baltimore, because of the opposition around Albany that had arisen against Hanna "from his old Friends the Dissenters." Auchmuty also wrote: "His moral character formerly was very good; but since he has commenced Lawyer it is altered." Perhaps there was more of rumor than of fact in this charge. In a letter to Johnson, of May 8, 1771, Hanna complains that "altho' the Presbyterians were loud in my Praise when I officiated as a Clergiman amongst them, yet I could find that immediately on my leaving them they were as loud in Slander."

<sup>11</sup> This was signed by Elders "John McCrea, John Munro, Robt. Henry."

Johnson gave Hanna a "recommendatory Letter" to Governor Horatio Sharpe, of Maryland, who received him hospitably. Sharpe gave him friendly letters to Virginia, to Lord Fairfax, George Washington and others, and he readily got a vacant parish. In 1772, Hanna was in London, where he received from the Bishop of London deacon's and priest's orders in June. Upon his return to America, we find him in Maryland hunting for a parish.<sup>12</sup>

The first house of worship of the Albany Presbyterians was built on what was known as "gallows hill," on a plot bounded on the east by William Street, on the north by Beaver Street, on the west by Grand Street, and on the south by Hudson Avenue. Its size was convenient and it fronted to the east. It had a tall steeple, and it cost about £2813 York currency. But in 1770 there was yet unpaid of this sum £2001, 18s., 6d., to be paid by three persons, and of which Elder Robert Henry had advanced out of his own pocket £1086, 13s., 6d. The original trustees of 1763 are given as John Macomb, David Edgar, Samuel Holladay, Robert Henry, Abraham Lyle, and John Monro; and the elders, Robert Henry, David Edgar, and Matthew Watson.<sup>13</sup>

For some two years after the removal of Mr. Hanna, the church here was without a regular pastor, but the Synod provided occasional supplies. In 1768, Andrew Bay, "a broad Scotchman,"<sup>14</sup> but judged to be "a highly talented and eloquent preacher," made a preaching tour of six Sabbaths, by appointment of Synod, among the Scotch settlements in the vicinity of Albany and in what is now Washington and Montgomery Counties. His services attracted the attention of the

<sup>12</sup> *MSS. of Sir William Johnson*, vol. 14, pp. 48, 195; vol. 20, pp. 192, 194, 207, 209, 217, 236; vol. 21, pp. 20, 21, 225; vol. 22, p. 146. Printed in part in *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. 4 (quarto edition), pp. 236, 278, 279, 281, 296, 307. Cf. also Gillett, vol. 1, pp. 151, 154, 379, 386-388.

<sup>13</sup> *Presby. Magazine*, 1851, p. 130; Blayney, *History of First Presbyterian Church of Albany* (1877), p. 51; *Records of Presby. Church*, vol. 1, p. 410.

<sup>14</sup> In *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. 4 (quarto edition), p. 241, the editor says he was "a native of Ireland." The above quotation is from Gillett, vol. 1, pp. 386, 387.

pastorless Albany flock. On May 17, 1769, Mr. Bay was in attendance at Synod in Philadelphia, as a member of the New-castle Presbytery. By this Presbytery he had been ordained in 1748, and he had now been over twenty years associated with the Presbyterian Church in America. It must have been immediately after his attendance at Synod in 1769, that he accepted a call from the Albany congregation. He is found again in Philadelphia at the Synod in May, 1770, when the Dutchess County Presbytery was ordered to "call upon Mr. Bay, now residing within their bounds, to produce a regular dismission from New Castle Presbytery, and to join their Presbytery." Elder Robert Henry had accompanied the pastor to Philadelphia, in order to lay before the Synod the distressed state of the church's finances and indebtedness for its house of worship. The Synod "cheerfully and cordially" recommended them "to the assistance of all well disposed charitable persons within their bounds."<sup>15</sup> Mr. Bay labored in Albany for about five years, or until 1774, when he took a pastorate at Newtown, Long Island, under the jurisdiction of the New York Presbytery. His stay at Newtown was short. His pastoral relations there were dissolved by a judgment handed down by the New York Presbytery, June 20, 1775, from which he appealed to the Synod, which upheld the Presbytery by its order of May 27, 1776. He was much displeased. The Synod's records state: "Mr. Bay, in a solemn manner, declared his declining the jurisdiction of this Synod for the future, and against having any further connection with it."<sup>16</sup>

From 1774 to 1785, the Presbyterians of Albany were without a regular pastor, but were cared for by supplies from time to time. In the records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, we find this minute under May 22, 1775, viz.:

"A supplication from the Presbyterian Congregation in Albany, praying for supplies, and that some members of the Synod may be sent to visit the country to the northward of the city, and that their congregation may be taken from under the care of the Presbytery of Dutchess and put under the care

<sup>15</sup> *Records of Presby. Church*, vol. 1, p. 410.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 475-476.

of the Presbytery of New York, was brought in and read; the said congregation, agreeable to their request, are put under the care of the Presbytery of New York."<sup>17</sup>

The first volume of the records of the Presbytery of New York begins with the year 1775, as the first 138 pp. are, unfortunately, torn out. On p. 140, we find the confirmation of the transfer of the Albany church from the Dutchess County Presbytery to the Presbytery of New York.<sup>18</sup> This entry, although undated, was made shortly before June 20, 1775, and we learn that Mr. Miller was selected to supply at Albany "four Sab<sup>a</sup> before our stated fall Presby— And Mr. Treat two Sabb<sup>a</sup> before that time." Mr. King was chosen to supply the whole month of September, 1776.<sup>19</sup> He must have pleased the Albanians, because the minutes of the Presbytery, of October 8, 1776, show the presentation of "a petition from the Presby. Congregation in the City of Albany for supplies and particularly for Mr. King."<sup>20</sup> In 1777, Mr. Eckley received appointments for "four Sabbaths between this and our next stated Presby. and as many more as he can. Mr. King all the month of April — Mr. Dodd the month of Feb. and Mr. Joline the month of March."<sup>21</sup> Dr. Rodgers was desired "to supply the Church at Albany, one month or more this summer [1777], if he can possibly spare so much time from more important labours." At the same time Mr. Joline was appointed "to supply one month at Albany — and the remainder at discretion till the fall Presby."<sup>22</sup> We find no further supplies during the war period, but that does not necessarily presage that no services were held.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 471.

<sup>18</sup> *MS. Minutes of the Presbytery of New York*, vol. 1, p. 140. The original records are now under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Newark, N. J., and I am indebted for extracts to the kindness of Rev. Julius H. Wolff, the Stated Clerk of that body.

<sup>19</sup> *MS. Minutes of the Presbytery of New York*, vol. 1 (May 7, 1776), p. 160.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 164.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, May 6, 1777, pp. 169, 170.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



**THE CALVIN CELEBRATION IN GENEVA AND  
CALVIN'S CITY AS IT IS TO-DAY:  
PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS.**

BY **MARCUS A. BROWNSON, D. D.**

The year 1909 has been a Calvinistic year in Protestant Christian countries. The 400th Anniversary of Calvin's birth has been appropriately celebrated by the Reformed Churches throughout the world, and just recognition of the significance of Calvin, as a Reformer and as a maker of modern times, has been given in Lutheran lands, in the Anglican Church, in Congregational New England and by the universities of the world.

In Geneva, Calvin's City, the climax of commemoration was reached in the Jubilees of July 2-10, 1909. Memorable days indeed were those set apart by the Church in Geneva, the College of Geneva (the school founded by Calvin), the Committee on the International Monument of the Reformation and the University (the outgrowth of "Calvin's Academy"), for the fourfold celebration of the Quadricentenary of Calvin's birth.

In brief, these "Jubilees" were as follows: July 2d, 3d and 4th were devoted to the Ecclesiastical Commemoration, July 5th to the College, July 6th and 7th to the Monument Association, and July 7th to 10th to the University Celebrations. A word as to each.

The delegates from the various Protestant countries, representing the appointing Ecclesiastical bodies, were received and enrolled on the afternoon of the second. In number they were about 400. A collation was served, the first of many gracious hospitalities. In the evening, in the grand old Cathedral of St. Peter, where Calvin had preached and lectured, Professor E. Doumergue, of Montauban, delivered a discourse on "Calvin, the Preacher of Geneva." The distinguished Theologian, author of the most elaborate biog-

raphy of Calvin,<sup>1</sup> addressed a great congregation which filled the stately edifice.

The following morning was devoted to the delivery of greetings and messages of congratulation to the Church of Geneva by the delegates from other lands. There were thirty-two such addresses—mostly spoken in the French tongue, with here and there a variation in German or English. This meeting was held in the Hall of the Reformation, a large and well appointed building on the left bank of the lake, not far from the English Gardens, used for Protestant Conferences of various kinds and for concerts of high-class music. The Calvinium—containing the memorials of the great Reformer—and the concert hall are under one roof. The sons of the Reformation have seen no incongruity in this. Everything in Geneva that is connected with Calvin's memory does justice to his genial qualities.

The effect of this first Séance Solennelle (formal assembly) was most happy. The hearty congratulations and good wishes from delegates, representing the Protestant countries of the world, were thankfully received. The Church of Geneva felt a great uplift, encouraged and strengthened as it was by the sympathy and interest of Protestantism at large, and, coming at a time when disestablishment has thrown the Genevan Church entirely upon its own resources and when new and difficult problems have arisen, this sympathetic interest was most opportune. The most cordial expressions of appreciation, at the time and since the event, have been made.

The afternoon of Saturday, July 3d, was given over to social functions, in the homes of hospitable residents of the city. In the evening the first rendering of a magnificent musical production, entitled "Post Tenebras Lux" (the ancient motto of Geneva) was rendered, the words of which had been written by Pastor H. Roehrich, of Geneva, and the music by the gifted organist of the Cathedral, M. O. Barblan. With soloists and full chorus, organ and orchestral accompaniment, this feature of the celebration was enthu-

<sup>1</sup> Three volumes of Doumergue's *Jean Calvin* have been issued in French, and may be seen in The Presbyterian Historical Society's rooms.

siastically received. It was repeated on the following evening, Sunday, in the presence of a vast congregation which filled the Cathedral to overflowing.

The great day of the feast was the Lord's Day, July 4th. At eight o'clock, in the morning, the Communion of the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the Cathedral, the order for "the Confession of Sin" and the form of "Exhortation" being that adopted by the "Society of Pastors" ("La Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève") in 1723, and taken from the Manual in use in the time of Calvin. Very impressive was the reading of the Confession and the Exhortation and, still more so, the reverent attention given to it by the great congregation of communicants which filled every seat and aisle and corner of the stately edifice. The 105th Psalm from the Genevan Psalter was sung. Prayers followed, in French, German and English, offered by visiting delegates. It made one think of Pentecost, for we heard "every man in our own language wherein we were born." The bread and wine were consecrated with prayer and were given to the people by twelve of the ministerial delegates, representing different Protestant countries. For more than an hour, the people were coming by twos up the main aisle of the Cathedral to the table in the chancel and, standing there, received the bread from one minister, the wine from another, the ministers standing behind the table and four of them serving at one time. The two lines of communicants separated at the table and moved in opposite directions to the side aisles and thus returned to their seats. The congregation had been divided into three sections, and with each change in this respect there was a change of ministers at the table.

During the participation in the Communion, different ministers from the pulpit, attached to a pillar at one side of the main aisle, read passages of Scripture, and, at one period, the organ was played very softly. Fully 2,500 people received the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. Altogether it was one of the most impressive sights I have ever witnessed and one of the most exalted experiences I have ever enjoyed. In an imposing Cathedral, dating from the tenth century,

once a Romish and, since the sixteenth century, a Protestant temple of worship, the scene of Calvin's mighty preaching, to participate in the Communion, as the ordinance was administered in his day, was to come to the very heart of the Reformation. The solemn service was concluded with prayer, the chanting of the *Nunc Dimittis* and the benediction.

At ten o'clock, sermons appropriate to the occasion were delivered in the various Protestant churches—in the Cathedral, Saint Gervais, Fusterie, Pâquis, Plainpalais, Eaux-Vives, Oratoire, Rive droite and Chapelle des Buis, in the French language; at the Auditoire, Evangelical Lutheran, Evangelical Reformed and Methodist Episcopal churches, in German; in the Church of England and American Episcopal churches, in English. Italian services were held in the Evangelical Italian Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church (rue du Marché).

At 1:15, in the Auditoire (where John Knox preached, 1555-1557), the Rev. Professor Henry Cowan, D. D., of Aberdeen, preached an excellent sermon on Calvin as an example of complete self-sacrifice.

In the Cathedral, at noon, a Hungarian service was held, the singing at which was said to have been extremely beautiful.

A very interesting service for the children and young people of the canton, at 2:30, in the Cathedral, was a special feature of the day. The vast edifice was crowded to the doors with young people. Two addresses in French were delivered, on Calvin's interest in and work for children. I could understand the enthusiasm and tenderness of the speakers, if I could not follow all they said, and the response written upon the bright young faces, by hundreds turned toward the pulpit, clearly showed that our grand old faith lives in the hearts of the young. A beautiful cantata (*Cantique du Jubilé*) was sung by the young people, having been specially composed for this occasion. The day came to a close, as already indicated, by a second rendering of the cantata, "*Post Tenebras Lux*," when the Cathedral was again crowded. Geneva and her jubilee guests will never forget that Lord's Day.

Monday, July 5th, was devoted to the commencement and

the 350th anniversary of the founding of the College of Geneva, which now prepares students for the university course.

In the afternoon of this day, under the guidance of the pastors of Geneva, groups of delegates were taken to the places of interest associated with Calvin and the Reformation, each group hearing in its own tongue explanations of objects shown. These little pilgrimages were called "promenades archéologiques."

Tuesday was set apart for the dedication of "the first stone" of the International Monument of the Reformation. From nine o'clock until noon, another "séance solennelle" was held, in the Church of Saint Gervais, with numerous addresses in French, German and English. A feature of this meeting was the reading of a telegram of congratulation and greeting from the German Emperor. The dedication of the monumental stone, in the Promenade des Bastions, beneath the ramparts of the old city and in front of the university, was accomplished, at 12:30, in the presence of a vast concourse. The picture presented was a very beautiful one. About the speakers' stand, the flags of the nations from which contributions had been received were grouped. The Stars and Stripes were prominently displayed. An address of presentation to the city was delivered by Professor Lucien Gautier, President of the Monument Committee, and a response from a representative of the municipality, accepting the same. The band played the Swiss National Anthem and Luther's Battle Hymn of the Reformation, and the vast throng took up the airs in joyful song. The monument, with its noble figures of Calvin, Farel, Beza and Knox in the central group, standing out before the huge inscription of the splendid motto of Geneva, "Post Tenebras Lux," and flanked on either side by smaller figures of men prominent in the promulgation or protection of Calvinistic Protestantism—Admiral Coligny, William the Silent, Oliver Cromwell, Roger Williams, Frederick William of Brandenburg and Stephen Bocskay, Prince of Transylvania, together with inscriptions upon blocks of granite commemorating Luther, Zwingli, and the precursors

of the Reformation, Waldo, Wycliffe and John Huss, will be an ornament to the city and a worthy memorial of the great Protestant movement, symbolizing, as it will, Geneva as the bulwark of the Calvinistic Reformation in all its phases, social, educational, political and religious. In the course of two years it will be completed according to the designs of the Lausanne architects and the Paris sculptor.

In the hall of the university an address was delivered, in the afternoon, by the Secretary of the Historical Society of French Protestantism, M. N. Weiss, whose subject was "The Reformation and Modern Thought."

Wednesday, July 7th, was devoted to an excursion on the lake, with luncheon at the Hotel Byron at Villeneuve, and, in the afternoon, a visit to the picturesque and historic Castle of Chillon, where in the old hall, restored to its ancient condition, "The Tragedy of the Sacrifice of Abraham," by Theodore Beza, was enacted by groups of students from the universities of Lausanne and Geneva, after the manner of the old Reformation days when the play was utilized to impress the people with the striking scenes of Bible history.

At night the harbor at Geneva was to have been illuminated in special manner, but, on account of rain, this was postponed to the following evening, when this night fête was given in grand style, the pyrotechnic display being of a superb character.

Thursday, Friday and Saturday were university days, when imposing academic processions in the streets and impressive exercises in the Cathedral, with the reception of congratulatory addresses from the leading universities of the world and the granting of degrees, the celebration of the 350th Anniversary of the founding of "Calvin's Academy," out of which the university grew, and receptions and dinners, and, finally, a historic pageant illustrating the outstanding features of the noble annals of Switzerland, gave evidence of the appreciation, by highly educated sons of the Reformation, of the memory of the learned Calvin, inventor of the free school system and promoter of advanced education.

In 1794, Thomas Jefferson reported to the Legislature of

Virginia "that the colleges of Geneva and Edinburgh were the two eyes of Europe in matters of science." The University of Geneva is still an organ of vision beholding the handiwork of God, who made all things for His own glory. So is the University of Edinburgh.

My personal impressions of the entire Celebration were enthusiastically favorable, and I do not believe a single visitor left Geneva, after its completion, without the most pleasurable memories which will be life-abiding, and, better far, without a deeper sense of the eternal verity of the essential principle of the Genevan Reformation which is, "Always and in all things the most sacred reverence for the ever present God as the rule of life."

The Celebration was conceived upon a noble scale, and it was carried out, in all the details of execution, to perfection. Its object, as a distinguished Professor of the University has stated, was "not the glorification of a man, great though he may have been, but the glorification of the spiritual enfranchisement resulting from the reforming activity and from the genius of Calvin."

Around this commanding idea and contributing to its emphasis and enforcement, stately Cathedral service, eloquence of speech in popular assembly, college *cortège* and Commencement, the granting of degrees to distinguished scholars of present day Protestantism, the dedication of the first stone of the International Monument of the Reformation, university recognition, the pomp of historic pageant, the gay decorations of the city, the brilliant illumination of the harbor, and the unbounded hospitality of the citizens, together with the cordial coöperation of representatives of the municipality and of the Swiss Confederation, were grouped in shining constellations. Yet Calvin, the man, was not forgotten. He was praised as "a humanist of the first order," a writer of elegant French and Latin, versed in literature, in law and theology, "a Hebraist, a Hellenist, dogmatist and moralist, powerful preacher, eminent professor, remarkable correspondent." The life of the Reformer, as dominated by firmness of character, force of conscience, inflexibility of will, was pic-

tured as "a fine tissue, an interlaced fabric of intellectual and moral absolutes."

Even to one, like myself, unable to follow in full the flow of French eloquence, and scholarly tribute spoken in another tongue, the Commemoration constituted a liberal education in Calvinism and its fruits. Enough was understood by the ear, and there was sufficient seen with *English* eyes, to make one know that the Protestantism of to-day holds, in grateful memory, John Calvin, gentleman; John Calvin, Christian; John Calvin, foremost of exegetes, preëminent preacher, constructive reformer, counselor of statesmen, defender of popular rights and popular obligations in government and religion; and that, with profound gratitude to God, it recognizes that he was raised up to complete the Reformation which Luther had inaugurated, giving order and discipline to the re-formed church and direction to the awakened energies of mankind, in the epoch which marked the return to evangelical Christianity and, in consequence, the advance to thorough education and the enlightened government of free peoples.

Assuredly after this Calvinistic year, with its closer and calmer consideration of the events of four hundred years ago in Geneva and its more just estimates of the essential value to the world of Reformation and Reformer—this Calvinistic year, culminating in the Geneva Jubilees—there ought to be less of the crass ignorance, and less of the cynical and caustic criticism of Calvin and Calvinism, which have been too common even among Presbyterian people, to say nothing of Protestants in general.

If we have learned afresh that, in some respects, Calvin was constitutionally inclined to be intolerant, that he did draft and carry out regulations needlessly severe, that he was a dogmatic theologian, in the strongest sense in which that term is used, we have also learned afresh, if not anew, that the men who lived in those tumultuous, turbulent times, giving birth to our modern, quiet and genial life, lived at "a great juncture of history" when liberty and truth were at stake and when "grave crises and the pressure of the world's grim warfare



created grim men." Let them be judged, in matters which seem extreme to us, by the standards of their own day and in the light of the work they had to do and did. "It is no virtue in us to borrow their austere gravity in our more genial lot; it is, however, our duty to appreciate the reasons for their seriousness."

The Geneva Jubilee has picturesquely and forcefully brought to the mind and heart of Protestantism the accomplishment under God of the man whose birth has been commemorated.

The City of Calvin is Calvin's City to-day, in a very real sense. Of course, in Geneva, as elsewhere, there are Calvinistic Protestants who speak of the "intolerant dogmatism" and "moral rigor" of the great Reformer, as mere memories, and as distant memories, in the old Huguenot City now a cosmopolitan place. Indeed, a university professor made bold to say that "of all places which were transformed by the reform of Calvin, Geneva is certainly the least Calvinistic in the world." And yet he is constrained to continue, "For him who knows Geneva and its people, that is, the portion who are styled 'the old Genevans' (the population is rapidly changing; foreign elements of the Roman Catholic persuasion are coming in), Calvin is not altogether dead in the city which to him owes the most important *rôle* it plays." Decidedly not. "For," again continues the professor, "it is to the influence of Calvin that the discriminating observer will ascribe the virtues which are cultivated, rare energy, moral force of the first order, strength of will, a democratic spirit, some roughness, even harshness, but always integrity, frankness and the conviction of the necessity of a straight course in life."

And a still more glowing tribute from this same distinguished source:

"If we now enjoy at Geneva all the liberties of modern times, the infinite privilege of education widely spread and the incalculable blessings of a high spiritual culture, we are indebted for these to the Reformation of the sixteenth century and, above all, to Calvin."

The present day visitor at Geneva is impressed with many evidences of the abiding influence of Calvinism.

The Calvinistic conscience and the Protestant spirit control the politics of the place.

The devotion of the people to the ecclesiastical principles of the Reformation is such that, two years ago when the National Protestant Church was separated from the State by the disestablishment act which went into effect January 1st, 1909, the Church not only maintained its former strength, but made decided gains of power, in the capacity of a voluntary organization.

The passion for education in the canton of Geneva and throughout all Switzerland is a Reformation heritage. Our American consul at Geneva, in a conversation with me, put the school question in this fashion: "The Swiss send their children to school at seven o'clock in the morning and keep them there all day and every day." There is a lower percentage of illiteracy in Switzerland than in any other country of the world.

The Lord's Day is respected in Geneva as in no other city of Continental Europe.

These are but a few of many evidences that the force of Calvin's life and work in reforming a city notorious in his day for immorality and vice, illiteracy and godlessness, is by no means spent. His master mind and commanding conscience seem still to dominate its life, as, far beyond its bounds, the tonic of Calvinism is felt. Says Professor Williston Walker, of Yale, "The spiritual indebtedness of Western Europe and of North America to the educative influence of Calvin's theology is well nigh measureless."

Geneva is said to be a delightful city for permanent residence. Not a few Americans have found it to be such. Our United States Minister to Switzerland, the Hon. Brutus J. Clay, of Kentucky, told us that, by special permission of the State Department, he and Mrs. Clay had resided at Geneva for four years, so delightful had they found the life among its cultured and hospitable people. The exquisite courtesy and the genial quality which mingled with and

modified the moral rigor of Calvin are outstanding characteristics of the sturdy Swiss, to-day. To live among them, it seems to me, after a taste of their cordial hospitality, would be a perpetual pleasure.

Geneva is a delightful city to visit. One who has an eye for the beautiful may revel in the comeliness of the shapely city by the lake that lies like a mirror beneath the lofty pinnacles of the Alps of Savoy.

In its immediate environs, on the gentler slopes of the mountains, are smiling vineyards, and far away, yet sufficiently near to dominate the scene, rises the monarch of the Alpine heights, the majestic Mont Blanc. A modern novel, entitled *Under Calvin's Spell*, represents a refugee, in Reformation days, entering the city from the north, and, in gratitude to God, kneeling upon the stones of the street, to render thanks for his safety at last. By his side stands his boy, full of youthful ardor, and, when the father's prayer is ended, the boy directs his glance beyond the blue waters of the lake to the sublime summit of the majestic mount whose mantle of perpetual snow lies high against the azure of the sky. "Look, father! Yonder is the great white throne."

Trained in Calvinistic thought, the modern Protestant pilgrim to Geneva, catching sight of the snowy summit, is apt to lift his heart upward to the sovereign and eternal God whose kingdom ruleth over all.





JAMES STEEN, ESQ., A. M.

## JAMES STEEN:

1852-1909.

The name "Steen" is thought to be of Scandinavian origin, and is of similar signification with the German "Stein" and the English "Stone." Early in the eighteenth century several of the name came from the north of Ireland to the American colonies, settling in different localities and leaving behind them a numerous posterity. And still others followed in the later immigration from Ulster into Pennsylvania and the Carolinas.<sup>1</sup>

James Steen was the son of John and Rosanna (McCrosson) Steen, and was born in Trenton, March 27, 1852. David Steen, the paternal grandfather, was born in Ireland. Mr. Steen's father, John Steen, was born in Ireland, and emigrated to this country in 1849. He was a prominent railroad man in his day.

James Steen received his early education in the old Trenton Academy and was graduated from Princeton College in the class of 1871, at the age of nineteen. He read law with the Hon. Charles E. Green, of Trenton, and was admitted to the bar at the November term of 1874. He immediately began the practice of his profession at Eatontown.

Soon after locating in Eatontown, Mr. Steen established *The Advertiser* and was for a number of years its editor, and always remained owner of the paper and plant. He was first chief of the Eatontown Fire Department, and when the village decided to try a borough form of government he was chosen mayor.

Mr. Steen was a prominent prohibitionist and anti-racetrack advocate. He organized a Law and Order League, in Eatontown, which led to the closing of the Monmouth Park racetrack. He also figured conspicuously in both Union and Monmouth counties in his fight against racetrack gambling.

<sup>1</sup>See *The Steen Family in Europe and America*, by Moses D. A. Steen, Cincinnati, 1900.

Mr. Steen was active in securing the franchise for the Monmouth County Electric Railroad through Eatontown Township, and it was he who originated the plan that culminated in the Tintern Manor Water Works. He was counsel for Eatontown Township, a member of the Board of Education, president of the Library Board, member of the Literary Society and of the newly organized Improvement Society. His activities extended beyond the confines of his home town. He was president of the Anti-Bribery League of the state, vice-president of the Monmouth County Bar Association and genealogist of the corporation known as "The Wikoffs of Monmouth."

Mr. Steen was a prominent Presbyterian. He was elected elder in "The First Presbyterian Church of Shrewsbury" in March, 1883, and was superintendent of the Sunday School connected with that church at Eatontown. He was considered an authority on ecclesiastical law, especially with reference to the Presbyterian Church, and he had contributed many articles on church history, law and government to the various church publications, and also the county newspapers.

Among those afterwards issued in pamphlet are: *History of the Wikoff Family: New Aberdeen, or The Scotch Settlement of Monmouth County, New Jersey: William Leeds, Missionary, One of Monmouth County's Oldest Churchmen: The Presbyterian Church of Freehold and Middletown, New Jersey: History of Christ Church, Shrewsbury: Congregation and Session*: the last, one of a number published in *The Presbyterian*. For a number of years Mr. Steen had been preparing a history of "The First Presbyterian Church of Shrewsbury." In fact, a portion of it had already been placed in the hands of the printer. He was of great assistance to the Rev. F. R. Symmes, when the latter was writing his history of "Old Tennent Church."

Mr. Steen and Rev. Allen H. Brown, D. D., were warm personal friends with similar historic tastes, and many days, in the eighties, before Dr. Brown's failing strength made such laborious pleasure impossible, did these kindred spirits go together searching graveyards and court records for absolute

proof of that which would be of inestimable value in church history.

Mr. Steen's office, at Eatontown, is an archive of historic Monmouth and of matters genealogical. He frequently delivered historical addresses, the most noted one being on June 6, 1895, when he addressed the Boyd-Tennent Pilgrimage to Old Tennent Church. His address was on the "Scotch, Irish and Huguenot Settlers of Monmouth County."

Mr. Steen, by reason of his many activities, was much in the public eye. No movement was ever launched in Eatontown with which he was not identified in some way, either fighting for or against it. Men of this character usually make strong friends and bitter enemies. Mr. Steen was no exception to the rule, but it was characteristic of him to be forbearing and patient under public attack. He was a man whose tact and judgment were sometimes questioned, but his honesty of purpose was seldom, if ever, doubted.

Mr. Steen died at his home at Eatontown, early on the morning of March 13, 1909, of pneumonia, after an illness of only a few days. His illness was due to a cold contracted while attending a meeting of the Session of "The First Presbyterian Church of Shrewsbury" on the Saturday afternoon preceding his death.

The church was very cold, and the meeting unusually long. During his brief illness he was anxious to recover, but, when asked, said, "It will be all right if I do not; I am not afraid."

Mr. Steen married, in 1875, Merriam Seabrook Holmes, daughter of Abraham and Grace Holmes, who survives, but they had no children.

The funeral of Mr. Steen was held on the Monday following his death, in the church at Shrewsbury. The pastor, the Rev. D. L. Parsons, conducted the service, assisted by the Rev. John G. Lovell, of the Long Branch Presbyterian Church. The body was buried in the churchyard. The bearers were, John G. Breese, Randolph Borden and W. E. Morris, from the Session, and David Harvey, Jr., D. H. Applegate and F. W. Hope, representing the Bar Association. It was the largest funeral ever held in the church.



## NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Mr. Steen did not connect himself with The Presbyterian Historical Society until the beginning of 1907. He was at once elected a Local Chairman of the Society, to represent its interests and to gather historical materials in his neighborhood. His greatest service to the Society was in the work he did for the JOURNAL. His articles were as follows:

"Grassy Run Presbyterian Church," Vol. IV, p. 49; "The Presbyterian Church of Monmouth County," running through the March, June and September numbers of 1908; "The Corporate Seal of the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Monmouth County," in the March number of 1909.

Mr. Steen's labor in the preparation of this material was painstaking and thorough. It came to the Editor's knowledge that he made more than one trip to the locality of an original record, simply to verify his work by comparing the printed proofs with the original. This conscientiousness, coupled with the learning and skill of Mr. Steen, made him an ideal contributor to a historical journal, where accuracy is the soul of honor. Such contributors are necessarily few. And Mr. Steen's death brought to the editor of the JOURNAL a deep sense of personal loss.

## CALVIN AND THE NEW WORLD.

BY JAMES I. GOOD, D. D.

In these Calvin Centenary days, we of America do well to look back to Calvin's relation to this new world. Calvin was not narrow-minded, but his vision was cosmopolitan. His correspondence covered Europe, and in one case it reached out to this western hemisphere, as we shall show. And inasmuch as the Calvin-Centenary and the discovery of the North Pole prove to be only two months apart, it is interesting to notice Calvin's correspondence with "Antarctic France," as Brazil was then called.<sup>1</sup>

Protestantism was hardly born before it became missionary. For missions are the core of Protestantism. The first of the Protestant churches to plant a foreign mission was the Calvinistic, in Brazil, followed shortly after by the Lutherans in Lapland.

On August 14, 1555, Nicolas Durand, of Villegagnon (or Villegagnon, as he is generally called by English writers), soldier, admiral, and adventurer, sailed from Havre for Antarctic France. Formerly a Catholic, now for a brief time a Protestant (in profession at least, though this is doubted by some), he had suggested to Admiral Coligny the advantages of founding in that far-off country a refuge for the Huguenots. Coligny favored it, and so strongly pictured the political and commercial advantages of the scheme to King Henry II of France, that he got a grant of three vessels and 10,000 livres for the expedition. But to get enough men, Villegagnon had to add to his Huguenot contingent prisoners taken from the prisons of Paris. Villegagnon arrived at the beautiful bay of Rio Janeiro on November 10, 1555. He landed first on the mainland, but the natives resented it, and

<sup>1</sup> The second Arctic explorer, as early as the 16th century, was also a Calvinist, Admiral Jacob Van Heemskerk, of Holland, who sailed in 1595 to find the northwest passage, only recently discovered by Amundsen.

so he fixed himself on an island in the bay, which he named Coligny, and which to this day bears the name of Villegagnon. On this rock he built a fort against the Portuguese and also a church, the first Protestant church in America. As their food ran out, the colonists were compelled to work, and he found that the soldiers were difficult to please, but the Huguenots were, as he calls them, "a race, fearing God, patient and kind." So he wanted more of them; and when he sent one of his ships back to France in 1556, he determined to get more of these French Reformed, as they were his "best workmen and would exert a good influence on the others." He wrote to the king, to Coligny and to the magistrates of Geneva, asking that ministers and artisans might be sent from Geneva to Antarctic France. Dupont organized a party of Geneva's artisans, and the Genevan church sent two ministers, Peter Richier, aged fifty, and William Chartier, aged thirty.<sup>2</sup> Calvin, at Coligny's recommendation, through them sent two letters to Villegagnon. It would be very interesting, were these letters extant, to read at this time Calvin's views on missions in the new world. These Genevese left Geneva September 10, 1556, visited Coligny at Chatillon and went to Paris, where Cointat, a member of the Sorbonne, joined them. More Huguenots joined them than could be taken, and about three hundred sailed from Harfleur November 19, 1556, and arrived at Rio Janeiro March 7, 1557. Dupont told Villegagnon they had come to found a Reformed church in Brazil. Villegagnon promised that everything should be done according to the Genevan Church Order. So they held a thanksgiving service. After singing the 5th Psalm, Richier preached a sermon on the 26th Psalm. This was the first Protestant sermon in the new world. The newcomers were required to labor hard, but they did it willingly, being strengthened by a daily sermon. On April 1, 1557, a vessel was sent back to France and with it three letters which contained the first correspondence of the

<sup>2</sup> Some German writers, as Tollin, place the number of ministers as four, adding to the two above mentioned, also Philip de Corgwilleray and Peter de Lery.

new world with Calvin.<sup>3</sup> Villegagnon's letter expresses his joy at the arrival of the ministers, as before that he had been compelled to be both magistrate and minister; against which the fate of king Uzziah might be a warning to him. He said that the region around them gave them no provisions, and that the natives were so barbarous that he sometimes thought he had found a race of brutes who resemble human beings. Those who had out of friendship followed him had gone back to France on account of the hardships they had endured, and he himself had been somewhat discouraged at the difficulties. But when he remembered that the object of the voyage was to promote Christ's kingdom, he felt he would dishonor His name if he should be deterred by the perils. To prevent his followers from becoming intimate with the heathen, he had settled on an island 2,000 paces from the mainland so that they might be removed from temptation. But twenty-six led by the love of pleasure had conspired against him. However, he had discovered the plot, seized four of the ringleaders and forced the others to lay down their arms. Of those whom he had seized, one drowned himself, one was put to death, and the other two put into the chain-gang. The letters which Calvin had sent to him by the ministers had been read in the Council and written down in its minutes, in order that if at any time they should depart from his advice, they might be brought back by reading these letters. He closed his letter with, "Our Lord Jesus Christ preserve you and your colleagues from all evil, strengthen you with His Spirit and prolong your life for the Church's Work."

The second of the letters extant is from Richier and Chartier to Calvin. The letter is of no importance from a missionary standpoint, as they only speak of the difficulties and encouragements of their journey. They call Villegagnon a father and brother, because of his care and interest, and joyfully describe how they celebrated the Lord's Supper, at which Villegagnon made public profession of his faith.

The third letter is from Richier to an unknown person.

<sup>3</sup> These letters are found in the *Opera Calvini*, 2609, 2612, 2613.

After speaking with joy of Villegagnon's public confession of faith and their celebration of the Lord's Supper, he briefly describes the country in a manner very much as Villegagnon did in his letter. Then he goes on to tell of missionary discouragements and hopes:

"But there is one thing that makes our hearts anxious and oppressed and that is the savagery of the natives, which cannot possibly be greater. Cannibalism is with them nothing but a daily occurrence. But still more terrible to me is their fearful spiritual stupidity, which is perceptible in the midst of the darkness. Of the holiness of the loving Father they know absolutely nothing. What are vices among other peoples they hold for virtues. At least they do not concede that vice brings shame. Truly in this thing they differ little from animals. And what is the most pernicious of all, they do not know that there is a God. Therefore they are far from keeping his commandments or admiring his power and goodness. Thus our hope of winning them to Christ is entirely extinguished. And this is of the greatest significance and saddens us most of all."

"I hear the objection, but they are 'a white page' on which it is easy to lay colors, because there is nothing there contrary to these colors. Who has such a judgment knows not what a hindrance the difference of languages presents. In addition we do not have interpreters who are faithful to God. We had indeed undertaken to utilize their services and labors, but we must say that they are directly members of Satan, to whom nothing is so hateful as the gospel of Christ."

"Therefore it is worth while to stand still about this matter and to be patient, waiting till the young men,\* who had been given to Villegagnon for instructing the barbarians of this land, have learned the native language from them. To this end they live and associate themselves with the natives. May the Lord protect them that they come into no danger to their souls. Then after that the Highest has transferred to us this work, we hope that these Edomites may become the property of Christ. Till now we wait for new colonists. We hope by them that the barbarous people may be educated as well as our church increased. Were there here much people we would indeed be rich in all things. For our means of subsistence grows thin and economically, which is caused by the fewness of the inhabitants and the sleepiness of the cultivators. But the Highest can truly care for all these things. We desire to be commended to the earnest prayers of all our churches."

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\* Several young men had been sent out with Richier and Chartier for the purpose of learning the language and then doing missionary work among the natives.

Some writers, as Warneck and Kawerau, have endeavored to deny that this expedition had any missionary object; that its object was merely colonization. But the majority of the missionary historians are on the other side, as Christlieb, Blumhardt, Ostertag, Kalker, Kurtz and others. These letters seem to us to clearly reveal that the object was missionary. Tollin calls Richier's letter "a mission study, a missionary experience, a mission's grief, a mission's hope and a mission prayer."

But after these letters had been sent, the real difficulties of the colony begin which reveal Villegagnon's true character. The Lord's Supper was celebrated the week after the arrival of Richier, and thereafter was to be celebrated monthly. After the first celebration (the first Protestant Lord's Supper in America), Cointat criticised it, and declared he wanted, after the example of the Church Fathers, to have the wine mixed with water; and that when the ministers distributed the elements they ought to be in the clothing of priests, and that the bread left over should be lifted up (as the Catholics do at their mass). Villegagnon agreed with him. The ministers and the congregation were against him, but in vain. Then came new strife as, at the suggestion of Cointat, Villegagnon wanted salt and saliva to be used with the water at baptism. Richier preached against these views, and then Villegagnon forbade the worship. Finally the matter was compromised by sending home Chartier in a ship in June, 1557, to get the judgment of Calvin, while Richier was permitted to hold services, provided he did not refer to the points in controversy. As soon as the ship had departed, it was evident what Villegagnon's plan was. Having gotten rid of young Chartier he hoped to make short work of the older Richier. Villegagnon now unmasked himself. He wanted them to accept transubstantiation. (The truth was that the Catholics had been secretly gaining influence with Villegagnon.) As they would not accept his doctrines, he forbade their religious services. The Reformed in order to celebrate the Lord's Supper did so at night. Villegagnon then drove the Genevese under Dupont from the island (they had stayed on it eight months).

They went to the mainland, where they were kindly received by the natives, who brought them food. Here they began their direct mission work among the natives, who belonged to the Topinambu's tribe. Lery, who was one of the colonists, gives in his history of this trip a little dictionary of the language of this tribe. In this we see their zeal for the salvation of the heathen, for although they were among them but two months they had already somewhat gained the confidence of the natives. But the time was too short to bring any permanent results, for Dupont made arrangements with a French vessel, that arrived, to take them to France, to which Villegagnon reluctantly gave his consent. But his perfidy is shown by his giving to the captain of the vessel letters to the first magistrate in France, denouncing Dupont's party as heretics and ordering them to be put to death. Of the terrible sufferings of this party from storm, starvation and famine, there is not time here to speak.<sup>4</sup> Five of the Genevese, with the captain's permission, returned to Brazil in a small boat on account of the unseaworthiness of the vessel, and came back to Villegagnon. He suspected them of being spies and arrested them. He ordered the executioner to throw two of them from the top of the high rock of the island into the sea, where they drowned; one recanted and the fourth was strangled and then cast into the sea. These were the first martyrs for Protestant missions. Kalkar, the Danish Lutheran historian of missions, says "this was the first blood shed as a witness for evangelical missions." The names of these first Protestant martyrs were Peter Bourdon, John Bortel and Mathew Verneuil. The fifth, John Boles, settled at Santos, about three hundred miles south of Rio Janeiro, and preached with such power the evangelical gospel that there was danger that the natives would become Protestant. So the Jesuits had him arrested, and after an im-

<sup>4</sup> A full account of this can be found in De Lery, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Bresil*, and in English in Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, pages 16-27, *Papers of American Society of Church History*, Vol. III, Article "Villegagnon," by T. E. V. Smith. Also in *The History of the Reformed Church of the United States*, by the author of this article.

prisonment of eight years had him burned at Rio in 1567—the first Protestant auto-da-fe in America.

Villegagnon left the colony soon after the Genevese. In 1560 the colony was captured by the Portuguese. Villegagnon on his return to Europe bitterly attacked Dupont and Richier, spreading reports derogatory to their character. On July 6, 1560, he addressed a letter to the magistrates of Geneva, charging Richier with the heresies of Marcion and Valentinus, indeed with atheism. He desired to argue these questions with Calvin or some other Genevese theologian before a court composed of two members of Richier's party, two of his party and two from the German church. These were to act as judges under the presidency of the prince in whose realm the meeting might be held. He said he would wait for forty days at Paris for an answer. The council at Geneva upon hearing the letter read, July 29, 1560, decided that he could wait as long as his obstinacy led him to do so, and gave no reply. Neither did Calvin, to whom a duplicate of the letter to Geneva had been sent, make any reply. Indeed, the man who delivered the letter to Calvin, made the sworn statement that Calvin, after reading it, trampled it under his feet and told the bearer that that was all the reply Villegagnon would get. So Villegagnon, failing to gain his point with either Geneva or Calvin, put what he would have said, had his challenge been accepted, into a book, *Ad articulos Calvinianae de Sacramento Eucharistiae traditionis, ab ejus ministris in Francia Antarctica evulgatae, responsiones*. Paris, 1560.<sup>5</sup> In the preface, he briefly recounts the controversy at Rio Janeiro, stating that Cointat was a Lutheran, and this led him to reëxamine the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, so that he found Richier to be blasphemous and heretical. He also charged Dupont with mutiny. In the book he first attacks Richier and then Calvin. But though no notice was taken of him or his book, Villegagnon seems to have gotten into a fever of controversy. It sometimes seems to us as if the blood of the martyrs he had slain at Rio Janeiro haunted his conscience, and he must satisfy it

<sup>5</sup> The writer has an edition of this work published in Venice, 1562.



by constantly attacking the Reformed. More probably having gotten a taste of theological controversy, and believing himself to have become a great theologian, he now gave way to this belief. In 1560 he published *Paraphrase du chevalier de Villegagnon sur la resolution des sacramens maistre Jehan Calvin ministre de Geneve*. In 1561 he published a number of short pamphlets against Calvin and Melancthon. He especially attacked the introduction of Calvinism into Germany by Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate. In 1562, Peter Boquin, one of the professors at Heidelberg, replied to his attack on Melancthon and the Germans. Calvin paid no attention to his attacks, but Richier, who had become pastor at La Rochelle (where he died 1580), replied in *Petri Richerii Apologetici libri duo, contra Nicolaum Durandum qui se Villegagnon vocat*, Geneve, 1561. Villegagnon found on his return that he was bitterly hated by the Huguenots as "foolish and crippled in brains." He was called "the Cain of South America," "a true savage among savages," while Beza described him as "a man distinctly resembling the Cyclops Polyphemus, both in the vast mass of his body and the ferocity of his nature."<sup>6</sup> He also was despised by the Catholics. He soon found that he could use the sword better than the pen. Still he kept on his rabid controversial writings against the Calvinists, for, about a year before he died (1571), he published a work against Calvin, Beza and Vannius on the Lord's Supper, *De consecratione mystici Sacramenti et duplici Christi oblatione, adversus Vannium Lutherologiae Professore: de Judiacy Paschatis implemento adversus Calvinologos: de pocula sanguinis Christi et introitu in sancta sanctorum, adversus Bezam*. Paris, 1569.

This first beginning of missions by Protestantism was a failure, and yet it was not. It revealed certain facts. It proved that Protestantism had from the beginning the missionary spirit. And it showed that these early missionaries began their missionary work along right lines. Many mis-

<sup>6</sup> Beza, *Icones*, Geneva, 1580.

takes were made by the early Protestant and Catholic missionaries in trying to propagate Christianity among the heathen. This is revealed by the two fundamental differences between Catholic and Protestant missions.

1. The Catholics do not give the heathen the *Bible* as do the Protestants, but only teach them Catholic rites instead of teaching them the Bible.

2. The Catholics insist on the use of the *Latin language* in the worship, while the Protestants use the language of the people.

These early Reformed missionaries in Brazil did not have time to fulfill the first, as they did not stay long enough to translate the Bible. But on the second point they were clear. They tried to make the natives hear the Gospel in their own tongue. This was the first application of the principles of Protestantism to missions. Richier and Chartier are the first of a long line of Protestant missionaries in many lands and languages. And Coligny and Calvin deserve credit for their farsightedness and zeal for the spread of Christ's kingdom. Their effort should be an inspiration to the Church of to-day.

"WM MARSHALL'S REGISTER OF  
BIRTHS AND BAPTISMS IN THE SCOTCH  
CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA FROM THE  
YEAR 1767 TO THE YEAR 1801."

[From the original, as preserved by John McAllister, Jr., in the  
possession of The Presbyterian Historical Society.]

This small Book contains the original Register of Baptisms and Burials Kept by Rev. William Marshall, Pastor of the Scots Presbyterian, or Associate, Church in Philadelphia. Mr M. was chosen Minister of the Congregation at its organization in the year 1768, and continued to discharge faithfully the duties until his decease November 17, 1802. All the Entries up to that period are in his own hand writing—those made afterwards are in the hand writing of John McCulloch one of the Elders, who always took a warm interest in both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church.

The last Entry of a Baptism in Mr Marshall's hand writing, is that of "Iane Lang Iuly Sabbath 4th 1802," and the last Entry of a Burial in his hand writing is that of "Iean Johnson Aug. 12. 1802."

It will be seen that no Baptisms are registered between Sep. 1785 and Dec. 1788. Mr Marshall was debarred from the use of the Church and Pulpit by a party in the Congregation in June 1786. It is probable that, during the time of the Controversy which existed, this Book had been mislaid, and that loose Memorandums only had been made, which were intended to be copied into the Book when it should be recovered. Some leaves seem to have been left blank for the purpose. The want can never be supplied, for Mr Marshall's papers passed at his death into the hands of his Son, who took no care to prevent their being torn up or lost.

Mr Marshall does not seem to have kept a *full* account of the Burials. It is probable that there were many of which no Entry was ever made.

It is presumed that all the Interments from June 1772 up to 1790, were in the Ground adjoining the Church, Spruce Street above third Street. In 1791 the new Church on Walnut Street was finished, and from that time the interments were in the Grounds belonging to that Church—in the first instance in the small portion of the Lot which was at the North end of the Church until it was filled—probably about 1799—and then in the part that was between the Church and Walnut Street, until about the close of 1802 when the Lot on 13th Street below Spruce street was purchased. The first burial in this new Lot, as

appears by the Entry made by Mr. McCulloch, was that of "Wm. Lare a Stranger"

In May 1854 the Church and Lot on Walnut street were sold, and all the Remains were then removed to the Burial Ground on 13th Street. The Remains however of Mr Marshall, the first Pastor, who died in 1802, and of Dr Shaw the Second Pastor, who died in 1824, also those of James Slater, an aged Member who died in 1801, all of which had been interred in front of the Walnut St Church, were deposited in front of the new church erected in 1854 at the South West Corner of Broad and Lombard Streets.

JOHN McALLISTER JR

[1] REGISTER OF BAPTISMS &c

Jean Kennedy was born and baptisd  
by the Rev<sup>d</sup> W: Marshall 1767.

Thomas January lawfull son to Peter & Mary  
was born and baptisd Jan<sup>r</sup> sab: 3<sup>rd</sup> 1768

Martha Hardie wife of Rob<sup>t</sup> Hardie together with  
their son David born Dec were baptisd  
on the forsaid 3<sup>rd</sup> sab: of January 1768

William lawfull son to John & Mary Purdon  
was born Jany and baptisd 1768

Mary Fulton lawfull Daughter of James & Mary  
was born and baptisd Feb<sup>r</sup> 1768

Jsaac Duncan lawfull son of Jsaac & Margaret  
was born May & baptisd the 2nd sab: of May 1768

Martha Richards lawfull Daughter to Wil-  
liam & Jane was born Sep<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> & baptisd  
sab: 3<sup>rd</sup> of said month. 1768

Roany lawfull Daughter of James & Ma(r)  
garet was born & baptisd March 176(9)

[2] Kennedy was born, 17 was born  
176 William born 176 the la——

Children of William and and all baptisd on  
the March 1769.

William Davison lawfull son to John & Sarah was  
born Sep<sup>r</sup> and baptisd 1769

Jean Kennedy lawfull daughter to George & Jane  
born Oct<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> and baptisd Nov<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>.

Elizabeth Cooper lawfull daughter to Robert & Mary

born Feb<sup>r</sup>. & baptisd Sab 3<sup>rd</sup>. of said month. 1770

John King lawfull son to John & Agnes born Feb<sup>r</sup>.  
26 and baptis'd Aprile sab: 2nd. 1770

Mary Fulton lawfull daughter to James and  
Elizabeth born Feb<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>. and baptisd Aprile sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1770

[3] John Buchanan lawfull son to William & Jane  
was born Aug<sup>t</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>. & baptisd on the 4<sup>th</sup>. sabbath  
of Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1770.

Mary Ritchards lawfull daughter to William  
& Jane was born & baptisd Oct<sup>r</sup>.  
sab 2nd being the 14<sup>th</sup> of the month.

Moor Lawfull to William &  
was born and baptisd Oct<sup>r</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>.

Hannah Cunighame lawfull Daughter to  
John & Margaret was born Aug<sup>t</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. & bap-  
tisd at Middletown in Chester County  
on the 5<sup>th</sup>. day of Nov<sup>r</sup>. this year

Rachel Roany Daughter to James & Margaret  
born & baptisd Decr. 9

Margary Wright Daughter to Andrew & Eliz.  
born Decr. 2<sup>nd</sup>. & baptisd the 9<sup>th</sup>. 1770.

[4] Eliz: Obrine Daughter to Jsaac &  
was born March 4<sup>th</sup>. & baptisd the 14<sup>th</sup>. 1771

Robert Fulton Son to James & Jsabel was  
born June 10<sup>th</sup>. & baptisd on the 3<sup>rd</sup>. sabbath  
of July following. 1771

Arthur Davison Son to Iohn & Sarah, born

Iohn Kennedy Son to W<sup>m</sup>. & was born Nov<sup>r</sup>  
and baptisd Decr. Sab 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1771.

[5] Mary Cooper daughter to  
Robert & Mary was born Dec<sup>r</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>.  
1771, & baptisd Jan<sup>r</sup>. sab: 2<sup>nd</sup>. 1772.

Jane Drummond Daughter of  
Walter & was born,  
& baptisd Feby sab: 2nd. 1772.  
Mary Roany daughter of James &

Margaret was born Dec<sup>r</sup>. 31 1771

& baptisd Feb<sup>r</sup>. sab: 4<sup>th</sup>. 1772.

John Grant Lawfull son to John &

Monanilla was born Feb<sup>r</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. & baptised March 1<sup>st</sup>. 1772

William Richards son to William & Jane was born Jan<sup>y</sup> 26 & baptisd the 5<sup>th</sup>. Sab: of March 1772

[6] Cathrine Steel daughter to Peter & Margaret was born March & baptisd Aprile 7<sup>th</sup>. 1772.

Cathrine Walker daughter to John &

Agnes King was born march 20<sup>th</sup>.

& baptisd May 10<sup>th</sup>. 1772 died June 25 1772

Joseph Flint Son to William &

was born & baptisd 2<sup>nd</sup> sab: of June 1772

Susana Hutcheson daughter to John

& Lettie was born & baptisd June sab: 1<sup>st</sup> 1772

Elizabeth McClure daughter to Samuel & Jane was born & baptised on the 2nd Sabbath of Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1772.

Peter January Son to Peter & Jane was born and baptised Aug<sup>t</sup>. Sab 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1772

[page 7 is blank]

[8] Baptisms for the year 1772.

Marion Aitken daughter to Robert

& Jannet was born July 20<sup>th</sup>. and baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. sab: 1<sup>st</sup>.

Martha Hardie daughter to Robert

& Martha was born and

<sup>1</sup> Indistinct, but apparently 1st.

baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. sab: 1<sup>st</sup>.  
 Robert Hunter Son to Robert and  
 Elizabeth was born Aug<sup>t</sup>. 23<sup>rd</sup>.  
 & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. sab. 3<sup>rd</sup>.

Juliana Mellin daughter to  
 John & Jane was born  
 & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. sab 3<sup>rd</sup>.  
 George Kennedy Son to George & Jane  
 born Sep<sup>r</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>. & baptised Oct<sup>r</sup>. sab 3<sup>rd</sup>.  
 [9] Samuel Black Fulton Son to  
 James & Mary was born and  
 baptised Oct<sup>r</sup>. sab. 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1772.

William Buchanan Son to William  
 & Jean was born and baptised  
 Oct<sup>r</sup>. sab 4<sup>th</sup>. 1772.

Mary Mease Daughter Charles &  
 was born Oct<sup>r</sup>. 22<sup>nd</sup>. & baptised Nov. sab: 1<sup>st</sup>.  
 1772.

Charles Bemen Son to John and  
 was born & baptised Nov. 1<sup>st</sup>. 1772.

Anne Patterson daughter to John  
 & Jannet was born Oct<sup>r</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>.  
 & baptised Nov. sab. 1<sup>st</sup>. 1772

Elizabeth Kinsley daughter to Frazer  
 & Susannah was born & baptis(d)  
 Nov<sup>r</sup>. sab: 4<sup>th</sup>. 1772

[10] William Means Son to William & Mary  
 of Norrington in Philad<sup>a</sup> County was  
 born and baptised at Nor-  
 rington meeting house on Decr. 2nd. 1772.

Moses Lindsay Son to Thomas and  
 Elizabeth was born Dec<sup>r</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. & baptis(d)  
 on the last sabbath of said month 1772  
 Hugh Gunning Thomson Son to  
 John & Rebecca was born Nov<sup>r</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup>.  
 and baptis(d) Ian<sup>y</sup> sab: 4<sup>th</sup>.

Thomas Willson Son to John & Margaret was  
born Feb<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup>. & baptised March sab.  
2<sup>nd</sup>. 1773.

Alexr & George Thomson Sons (being Twins)  
to Thomas & Margaret were born Aprile  
27<sup>th</sup>. 1773 & baptisd May 16<sup>th</sup>.

Hugh Boyle Cochrane Son to James  
& Juliana was born Aprile 25 & baptised  
May Sab 3rd 1773

[11] Agnes King Daughter to John  
& Agnes was born &  
and baptised May Sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1773

[12] James Davison son to John & Sarah was  
born Sep<sup>r</sup> & baptisd Oct<sup>r</sup> sab. 1<sup>st</sup>.

Elizabeth Moor Daughter to William  
& was born, & baptisd Oct<sup>r</sup> sab 2<sup>nd</sup>.

Mary Kennedy daughter to William  
& was born & baptisd  
Oct<sup>r</sup> sab 3<sup>rd</sup>.

Mary January daughter to Peter & Janet  
was born Oct<sup>r</sup> & baptisd Oct<sup>r</sup> sab. 5<sup>th</sup>. 1773

Elizabeth Jewell daughter to & Eliz:  
was born 1772 in N. England & baptisd  
in the Scotch Church Philad<sup>a</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>. 1773

James Boyd Son to Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Jane of the  
Forks of Delaware was born in July  
& baptisd at Neshameney Nov<sup>r</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>.

Charles Roseann & Iohn Coleman children  
[of] <sup>2</sup> Roseann were then baptisd.

[13] Martha Kinsley daughter to Frazer  
& Susannah was born Nov<sup>r</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. 1773  
and baptisd Jan<sup>r</sup> sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1774.—

Sarah Davis daughter to Samuel  
& Mary was born & baptisd  
Feb<sup>r</sup> sab. 1<sup>r</sup>. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Torn off.

<sup>3</sup> "1" written over "2."



Rob<sup>t</sup>. Aitken Steel Son to Peter

Margaret was born Jan<sup>y</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>.

& baptisd Feb<sup>y</sup> sab: 3<sup>rd</sup> 1774

Sarah daughter to James and Marg<sup>t</sup>.

Roany born baptisd Feb<sup>y</sup> sab. 4<sup>th</sup>.

[14] John Campbell Son to William & Jean was born

& baptisd Aprile sab. 3<sup>rd</sup> at

the same Time Martha his Sister born

was baptised. 1774

Alexander Thomson Son to John & Rebecca

was born March 28<sup>th</sup>. & baptised

Aprile sab: 4<sup>th</sup>. 1774.

John Drummond Son to Walter and

was born & baptised Aprile sab: 4<sup>th</sup> 1774

John Maise Son to Charles &

was born May 31<sup>st</sup>. & baptised June

sab 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1774. \_\_\_\_\_

Jane Ritchards daughter to William &

Jane was born June 30<sup>th</sup>. & baptised

July sabbath 4<sup>th</sup>. 1774.

[15] George Grahm M<sup>c</sup>Lure son to

Samule & Jean was born Oct<sup>r</sup>.

23<sup>d</sup>. & baptised Nov<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>. 1774

Robert Hardie Son to Robert &

Martha was born Oct<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>. &

baptised Nov<sup>r</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>. 1774

Ann Bartram Thomson daughter to

Thomas & Margaret was born Oct<sup>r</sup>.

23<sup>d</sup>. & baptised Nov<sup>r</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>. 1774

William Kinsley Son to Frazer & Susannah

was born Nov<sup>r</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. & baptised

Dec<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>. 1774

Sarah Newberry Grahm daughter to

James & Sarah was born Nov<sup>r</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup>.

& baptised Dec<sup>r</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>. 1774

[16] Moses Hunter Son to Aaron & Mary was

born Oct<sup>r</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>. 1774 & baptised Ian<sup>y</sup> sab 2<sup>d</sup>. 1775

George King Son to John & Jsabel was  
born Nov<sup>r</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. 1774 & baptised Ian<sup>r</sup>.  
8<sup>th</sup>. 1775.

Son of Daniel M<sup>b</sup>ride & his  
wife was born Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1774 & baptisd  
in Jan<sup>r</sup> 1775.

Thomas Leman Son to Hugh &  
his wife was born on Aprile  
1774 & baptised Ian<sup>r</sup> sab 4<sup>th</sup>. 1775.

Margaret Marshal Paterson Daughter  
to John &                      was born Ianuary  
30<sup>th</sup>. & baptisd Feb<sup>r</sup> sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. 1775.

Margaret & Elizabeth Cochrane twin  
daughters of James & Juliana were  
born Jan<sup>r</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>. & baptised Feb<sup>r</sup>. sab. 2<sup>nd</sup>.  
1775.

[17] An Beman daughter to John &  
born in Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1774 &  
baptised Feb<sup>r</sup> sab. 2<sup>d</sup>. 1775.  
Janet Kennedy daughter to George  
& Jane was born Jan<sup>r</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>. & baptised  
Feb<sup>r</sup>. sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1775.

Grant                      to John &  
was born Jany. & baptised  
Margaret & Eliz: Cochrane [were born] <sup>4</sup> Dagtes  
to James & Juliana was born Jan<sup>r</sup> &  
baptisd

[17 $\frac{1}{2}$ ] John Boyd Son to Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Iean was born  
May                      & baptisd Iune sab 3<sup>rd</sup>.

John King Son to John & Agnes  
was born June                      & baptised July  
sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1775.

Elizabeth Crumbie daughter  
to James & Esther was born  
June & baptised July sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1775

<sup>4</sup> Erased.

• Erased.

- baptised Jany sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1776
- 5 John Davison Son to Iohn & Sarah  
 Davison was born Dec<sup>r</sup>. 31<sup>st</sup>. 1775  
 & baptised on 2<sup>d</sup>. Sab: of Feb<sup>r</sup> 1776
- [19] 6 David Ritchards son to William &  
 Jane was born Feb<sup>r</sup>.                      and  
 baptisd March sab: 3<sup>d</sup>. 1776
- 7 Anne Aitken daughter to Robert  
 & Jannet was born Aprile 17<sup>th</sup>. &  
 baptised May sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. 1776 by the  
 Rev<sup>d</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup>. Annan occasionally here.
- 8 Elizabeth Cowen daughter to John  
 &                      was born Sep<sup>r</sup>.                      &  
 baptised Oct<sup>r</sup> sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. 1776.
- [20]                      Baptisms for 1777.

Mary McLure Daughter to Samuel  
 & Iane was born                      & baptised  
 Feb<sup>r</sup>. sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1777.

Iean Marshall daughter to W<sup>m</sup>. & Mary  
 was born Ian<sup>r</sup>. & baptised March 9<sup>th</sup>.

Robert Fulton Son to James & Jsabel  
 was born March 3<sup>rd</sup>. & baptised  
 on the 3<sup>d</sup>. Sabbath of Aprile 1777.

Mary Mckubben daughter to Alex<sup>r</sup> &  
 Sarah was born Aprile 2<sup>nd</sup>. & baptised  
 May Sabbath 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1777.

Sarah Thomson Daughter to Thomas & Sarah  
 was born at                      & baptised June sab: 2<sup>d</sup>. 1777.

Thomas Boyd Son to Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Jane was  
 born June 13<sup>th</sup>. & baptised at Neshameny  
 July 4<sup>th</sup>. 1777.

Iohn Wilson Son to Iohn & Margaret  
 was born Iune 30<sup>th</sup>. & baptised  
 on July sab: 4<sup>th</sup>. 1777.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## RECORD OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY.

**CALVINISM AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.** *By Thomas Balch.* 1876. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1211-1213 Clover Street, 1909. 8vo, pp. 18; cloth.

This is a very timely and very beautiful reprint of a paper contributed to *The Presbyterian Quarterly Review* for July, 1876. Its author, who died in March of the following year, was a well-known member of the Philadelphia bar, and even more widely known for his *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania* (1855) and his *Les Français en Amérique* (Paris, 1872). Mr. Balch wrote in the spirit of the philosophical historian, and he handled and cited his sources and authorities with the method of the scholar. The present paper is as well adapted to the four hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth as it was to the Centennial of American Independence and it well shows the connection between the two events.

**THE CHARACTER OF PRESBYTERIANISM in Portions of Pennsylvania: A paper, by Hugh Hamilton, M. D., Harrisburg, Pa.** *Delivered at Donegal Church, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on the Sixteenth day of June, 1909.* N. p., n. d. 8vo, pp. 12; stitched.

Dr. Hamilton, with many others of like descent, represents or implies, that the Scotch-Irish (as the phrase is) immigration ever moving westward, has been the cause of the planting of American Presbyterian churches that now cover the continent. We think the claim or implication is not a full representation of historical facts; and that even though lawful, it were not expedient. It is to the praise of our American Presbyterianism that it is woven of many national strands,—Huguenot, Puritan, German, Dutch, Scotch, Welsh, Irish,—and that each has contributed to the richness and strength of the whole fabric. But when he comes to his special theme of eastern and central Pennsylvania, Dr. Hamilton is on ancestral ground, and we listen with pleasure to his graphic portrayal of the line of churches, of graveyards and of communities, that mark the extending frontier of the settlements of his forefathers. We cheerfully join with Dr. Hamilton to extol the excellences of the Scotch-Irish, but we cannot consent to encourage a senti-

ment that either Presbyterianism or the American Presbyterian Church came from Ulster. It might contribute to discipline of the mind, if not to the gayety of the occasion, if the Scotch-Irish, Hibernian, St. George, Holland, New England, German and Huguenot societies should appoint representatives to attend each other's banquets—and listen to the eulogies!

*BRIEF SKETCHES of the New Jersey Chaplains in the Continental Army, and in the State Militia, During the War of Independence. By Rev. F. R. Brace. Paterson, N. J.: The Press Printing and Publishing Company, 1909. 8vo, pp. 13; stitched.*

In this pamphlet (reprinted from the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 3d Series, vi, 1), Dr. Brace has performed the pious and patriotic service of gathering together the available data concerning the New Jersey chaplains. He finds them to be twelve in number, of whom two were Baptist, one German Reformed, one Episcopalian, one Associate Reformed Presbyterian, and seven Presbyterian. This proportion, here and elsewhere in Revolutionary history, has its own significance to him who chooses to see it.

*THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, Founded in 1763, Albany, New York. Commemorative Discourses on the occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Dedication of the Present Edifice, Corner State and Willett Streets, May 23, 1909. N. p., n. d. 8vo, pp. 42; stitched.*

This pamphlet is not a parish history, but preserves addresses delivered at what the pastor of the First Church calls "a lesser anniversary" of a church life that has lasted for nearly a hundred and fifty years. The addresses added to the importance of the occasion, and are here tastefully presented.

*1709-1909. BICENTENNIAL: THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF PENNINGTON, N. J. Sunday, May 16, 1909. Rev. Geo. H. Bucher, Pastor. Printed by direction of the Synod and Trustees. N. p., n. d. 8vo, pp. 43; stitched.*

We hardly know how to deal, at once sympathetically and faithfully, with this pamphlet. Here, on the one hand, is one of the few churches

claiming the venerable age of two hundred years, with all the fascinating promises to the historical student, held forth by the mere fact of such a claim and such an occasion. Here, on the other hand, is a pamphlet on eighteen of whose pages the history of the parish is set forth, the remainder being occupied by an address of the homiletical type and by various letters of "greeting." The discrepancy between the promise and the attainment can hardly be overlooked. Cannot the parochial authorities at Pennington give us a real history of the church, and print the records and documents that survive?

*1858-1908. THE JUBILEE CELEBRATION. Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the Second United Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Sabbath, October the Eleventh, and concluding Sabbath, October the Eighteenth, Nineteen hundred and eight. Rev. Wm. M. Nichol, Pastor. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1908. 8vo, pp. [16]; stitched.*

Here is a short review of the fifty years, with portraits and sketches of the pastors.

*SEMI-CENTENNIAL SOUVENIR and Manual of the First United Presbyterian Church of Des Moines, Iowa: Organized October 15, 1858; House of Worship at West Ninth and School Streets. N. p., October, 1908. 8vo, pp. 28; stitched.*

This souvenir has brief historical records, rolls of membership and of officers, and an interesting collection of portraits.

*A SOUVENIR of the First United Presbyterian Church (Located at Mason Street and Avenue A), Schenectady, N. Y. Rev. Marvin J. Thompson, A. B., minister; manse 112 Mason Street. 1908. Organized and incorporated under the laws of New York State, A. D. 1903. Schenectady, N. Y., 1908. 8vo, pp. 36; stitched.*

An interesting record of parochial beginnings with portraits and illustrations.

## NOTES

### THE WITHERSPOON MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Witherspoon Memorial Association, organized in March, 1907, under the initiative of Rev. Teunis S. Hamlin, D. D., Pastor of the Church of the Covenant (Presbyterian), of Washington, D. C., issued a circular, of which the following is an extract:

The Witherspoon Memorial Association has been organized and incorporated for the purpose of securing subscriptions and erecting in the national capital a bronze statue of Dr. John Witherspoon, a Presbyterian minister, for many years president of Princeton College, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a prominent member of the Continental Congress. A sketch of his life is enclosed herewith, showing the claims he has upon the gratitude and honor of the American people.

There is in Washington no public statue of any signer of the Declaration of Independence. No more worthy subject for such an honor can be selected than Dr. Witherspoon. The desirable locations on Government reservations are being rapidly occupied. Fortunately one such reservation still remains, that in front of the Church of the Covenant, at the junction of Connecticut Avenue, N and Eighteenth Streets. The assurance has been given that if request is made by a respectable and responsible number of citizens for the erection of a Witherspoon statue, Congress will grant the permission to use the above-named reservation for that purpose.

Subscriptions in sums of one thousand dollars each were obtained from a sufficient number of ladies and gentlemen to make the enterprise an assured success, and a considerable number of smaller subscriptions was also obtained.

The next step was to secure the necessary legislation from the Congress of the United States, authorizing the erection of the statue on the Government reservation or lot in front of the Church of the Covenant. The Joint Resolution to that end was passed by the Senate without debate. In the House the Joint Resolution was passed unanimously, May 27, 1908, after an interesting discussion.

The artist selected to execute the statue was Mr. William Couper, of New York. The work progressed to completion without any obstacle or delay, and the unveiling exercises took place on May 20, 1909, in the presence of a large assemblage which included numerous descendants of Dr. Witherspoon. These exercises were presided over by the Hon. John W. Foster, chairman of the Association; and the principal ad-



dresses were made by the Right Honorable James Bryce, the Ambassador of Great Britain, and by President Wilson of Princeton University.

A cut of the monument is printed in this number of the JOURNAL, through the courtesy of the Hon. John W. Foster.

#### “FASTI ECCLESIAE SCOTICANÆ.”

The Rev. W. S. Crockett in May last gave to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland the report of the Committee which have in hand the revision and bringing up to date of Dr. Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, which records the names of all the ministers of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation downwards. The work of chronicling the succession within each of the 1,433 parishes of the Church is proceeding satisfactorily. Scott brought it down to 1839, and when it is revised and written up to date the Committee hope to publish the whole in six volumes of 600 pages each. A copy of the original edition is in the library of The Presbyterian Historical Society.

#### THE GRAVESTONE OF DR. GEORGE DUFFIELD.

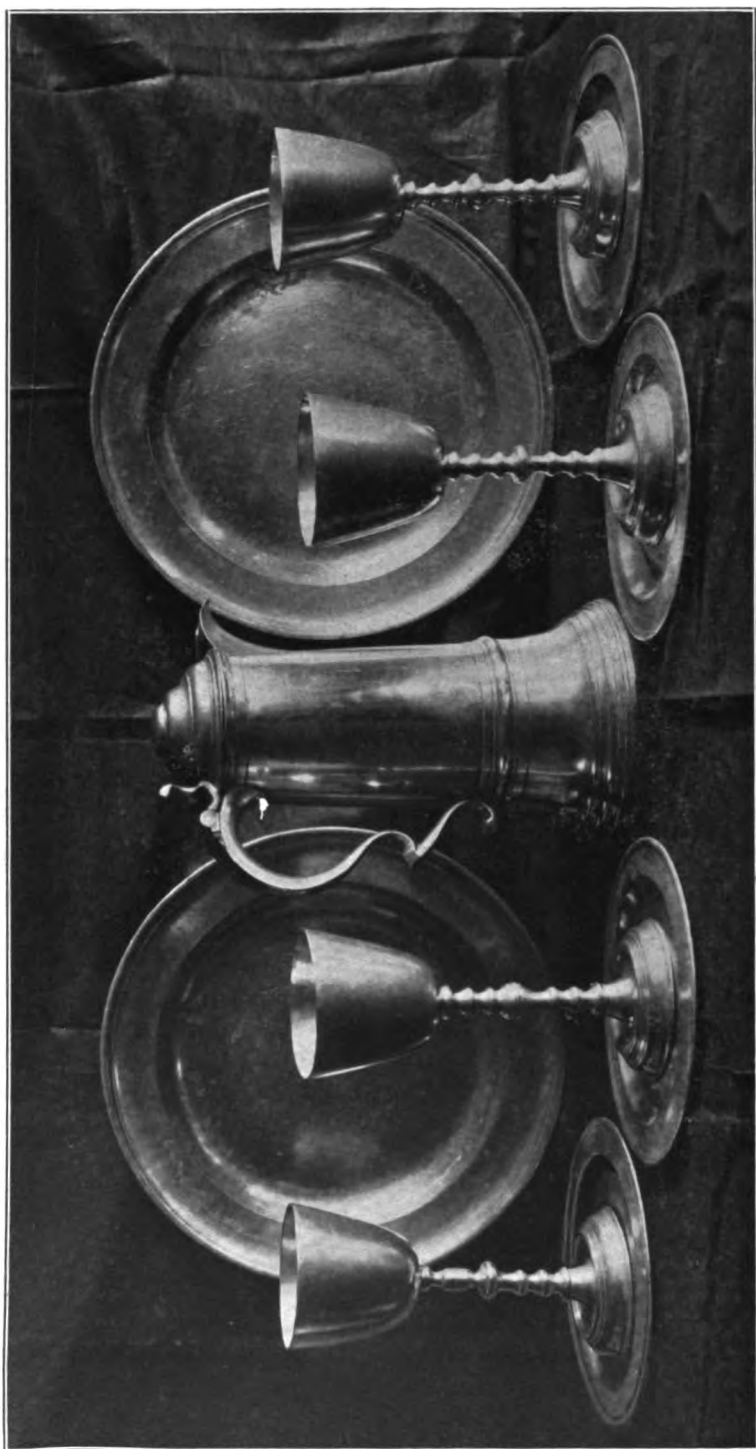
An interesting change made during the summer of 1909 at “The Old Pine Street Church” in Philadelphia was the replacing of the old gravestone over the tomb of the Rev. Dr. Duffield under the center of the Lecture Room. When the carpet was removed and the old floor cleaned the location was readily ascertained by the comparatively new boards which had been fitted into the old resting place of the stone about forty years ago.

No one seems to know why the stone was ever removed, but it is now back in its old place in a bed of concrete.

Before being fitted the coffin containing the remains of the first pastor was located, thickly encrusted in mortar which was originally moulded around it.

This was indeed a fitting act on the part of a congregation that so recently protested against the removal of Dr. Duffield's portrait from Independence Hall. The removal of Dr. Duffield's gravestone was one of many acts of vandalism to which parochial authorities of a generation or two ago lent themselves in the supposed interests of utilitarianism. Its restoration is equally characteristic of the whole spirit of Dr. Gibbons' pastorate of the historic church.





OLD PEWTER COMMUNION VESSELS

# JOURNAL

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### THE BEGINNINGS OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN ALBANY.

Address delivered at the First Presbyterian Church of Albany, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dedication of its present edifice, on Sunday night, May 23, 1909.

BY VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, STATE HISTORIAN.

(Concluded from p. 163).

On the morning of September 2, 1775, they assembled at the Presbyterian church on "gallows hill" a joint conference of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, the Committee of the City and County of Albany and Indian delegations of the Six Nations, and then and there the Committee, which was a committee of safety at the outbreak of the American Revolution, answered the Indians in the usual harangue that preceded an Indian treaty.<sup>23</sup> This was one of the meetings by means of which the Continental Congress sought to win over as allies the Indian tribes for the impending conflict. The war was on. The part played by the Presbyterian element, from New York to Georgia, in that struggle, is conspicuous in the annals of the American Revolution.<sup>24</sup> Seventy pounds of lead were taken out of the Albany

<sup>23</sup> *MS. Minutes of Comm. of City and County of Albany*, vol. 1, p. 259; *New York Colonial Docs.*, vol. 8, p. 627.

<sup>24</sup> Breed. *Presbyterianism and the Revolution*, Phila. [1876]; Briggs, pp. 347-352.

Presbyterian Church, stripped no doubt from steeple and window frames, to be made into bullets for the patriot firearms. When this first church was being restored, in 1786, we learn that an effort was being made to get back either the weight of lead or its value in money. It appears that the lead had been purchased by Dr. Samuel Stringer for the army, but had never been paid for. Stringer was one of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, and held other places of high trust in the struggle for independence. I have discovered yet another incident of more than ordinary interest. A memorial was presented by John Price and John M. Beeckman to the legislature of New York, on behalf of themselves and other citizens who were members of the Committee of the City and County of Albany. It recited that the Albany committee had borrowed from the Presbyterian Church of Albany "a large iron stove, with the necessary pipes, grate and supporters . . . for the use of the convention of the representatives of the state, and which was destroyed in the conflagration of Kingston." Now, it is interesting to note that, in days when stoves were a luxury, the Presbyterian stove of the Albany congregation was loaned for service in Kingston, to keep warm the ardor of the band of patriots who framed the first constitution of the State of New York. And it is not unworthy to remark that, when Kingston was sacked in 1777, this stove, warmer of patriotic servants, was itself destroyed by the fervent heat of a British conflagration. The memorial asked the legislature to replace the loss to the church. The Senate had been willing, but the Assembly, on February 10, 1781, referred the matter to a committee and later non-concurred.<sup>25</sup>

The Presbytery of New York, on October 21, 1783, appointed Mr. King to supply three Sabbaths at Albany and Schenectady "at his discretion."<sup>26</sup> At the meeting of May 4, 1784, discretionary appointments for Albany and Schenectady were as

<sup>25</sup> *Journal of the Assembly of New York, 1781.* Albany: Reprinted by J. Buel, 1820, pp. 18, 58, 59; *MS. Minutes of Committee of City and County of Albany*, Oct. 9, 1776, where origin of loan is shown.

<sup>26</sup> *MS. Minutes of the Presbytery of New York*, vol. 2, p. 52.

follows: Mr. Close and Mr. King, two Sabbaths each, and Mr. Armstrong, "who has been preaching for some time within our bounds to supply the places aforesaid, as much as he conveniently can between this and our next meeting of Presbytery."<sup>27</sup> On October 19, 1784, Mr. Burton was appointed "to spend three or four months at Albany, White Creek and the Country round as he shall think proper."<sup>28</sup>

After the war, the American Presbyterian Church took on new life and expanded itself from New York to Georgia. The many ministers could no longer meet together in an annual Synod, and a system was devised of representation. In 1788, the General Assembly was organized, composed of four Synods, sixteen Presbyteries, having 177 ministers, 111 probationers, and 419 churches.<sup>29</sup>

The legislature of New York, on April 6, 1784, passed an enabling act pertaining to the appointment of trustees by all religious denominations, who were to be the responsible body corporate in each of the respective congregations. Pursuant to the provisions of this act, "The Corporation of the Presbyterian Church in the City of Albany," on October 3, 1785, elected as trustees Robert Henry, Mathew Watson, John W. Wendell, Robert McClellan, Hunlock Woodruff, Daniel McIntire, James Boyd, John Robison and Theodorus Van Wyck Graham.<sup>30</sup> At a meeting of the corporation, held a few days later (October 7), Peter Sharp was chosen treasurer and Joseph Caldwell was named Clerk to the board of trustees for a year's term. At this first meeting of the revived Presbyterian body of Albany, Robert Henry acted as moderator.<sup>31</sup>

On August 10, 1785, the Presbytery of New York received two calls for the Rev. John McDonald as pastor—one from the English Presbyterians in Albany, and the other from a Presbyterian body at New Perth, Washington County. Rev. Dr. Rodgers was authorized to transmit these calls to Mr. McDon-

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>29</sup> Briggs, pp. 362, ff.

<sup>30</sup> *M.S. Clerk's Book*, in the possession of the First Presbyterian Church.

<sup>31</sup> *M.S. Clerk's Book*.

ald for his consideration, and to answer the letters of the two congregations, informing them of the action of Presbytery in the matter. As Presbytery anticipated the acceptance of one of these calls, they appointed Mr. McDonald to prepare a sermon from Rom. 8: 1 and an exegesis on the question "Nunquid discriminis sit inter commune et specialem gratiam?", both to be delivered at the next Presbytery.<sup>32</sup> At the meeting of October 18, Dr. Rodgers reported his fulfilment of his duties. The Hon. John Williams appeared in behalf of the New Perth congregation, and John W. Wendell and James Boyd were present as commissioners from Albany, "who gave the Presbytery every information they required about their respective Churches & Congregations. The Presbytery then called upon Mr. McDonald to know if he had considered these calls & was ready to give an answer. Mr. McDonald replied he had frequently & seriously considered them, & had come to a fixed resolution of accepting the call from Albany, & with the leave of the Presbytery, accordingly did accept of it. Upon which the commissioners from Albany requested that Presbytery would proceed to ordain Mr. McDonald with all convenient speed & that if possible, the ordination be in Albany. The Presbytery proceeded to consider Mr. McDonald's sermon preached at the opening of Presbytery from the text assigned him at last meeting, & also his exegesis were delivered, & accepted them as parts of his trial — Having proceeded to examine him on his experimental acquaintance with religion & views in entering into the work of the Gospel ministry, were unanimously satisfied."<sup>33</sup> Two days later, on October 20, the Presbytery "proceeded to examine Mr. McDonald upon Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Geography, Logic, Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Moral Philosophy, Church History, Systematic & Casuistic Divinity & Church Government, his answers in all which were sustained & accepted as parts of trial. Mr. McDonald adopted the Westminster confession of Faith as the confession of his faith, & declared his approba-

<sup>32</sup> *MS. Minutes of the Presbytery of New York*, vol. 2, p. 93.

<sup>33</sup> *MS. Minutes of the Presbytery of New York*, vol. 2, pp. 97, ff.

tion of the Directory for Presbyterian church government, worship & discipline. The Presbytery after considering the request of the commissioners that Mr. McDonald should be ordained with all convenient speed, & also that it may greatly subserve the interest of the Redeemers Kingdom in that part of the world that he be ordained in Albany, agreed to appoint & accordingly appointed him to be ordained in the church of Albany upon the 8<sup>th</sup> day of November at 10 O'clock A. M. Mr. Close to preach the ordination sermon, Mr. Ker to preside & Mr. Chapman to give the charge to the people."<sup>34</sup>

The acceptance of Mr. McDonald and report of the proceedings of Presbytery were communicated by Mr. Wendell at a meeting of the trustees of the corporation, held on November 1, 1785. The trustees forthwith made provision for a "Public Dinner" to be given to the three clergymen whom Presbytery had selected to participate in Mr. McDonald's ordination, and also arranged for the payment of "all Necessary expences of those Gentlemen."<sup>35</sup>

On November 8, the Presbytery met at Albany "according to adjournment P. P. S." There were present, "The Moderator, Mr. Close, Mr. Chapman, Mr. Miller, Mr. King, & Mr. Wilson, Ministers — Mr. Schenck, a member of the first Presby. of Philadelphia being present was asked & sat as a correspondent — Mr. Ker being necessarily absent by sickness, the Presby. requested Mr. Miller to preside in his room — Mr. Close preached the ordination sermon from I Tim. 5, 17, after which the Presby. proceeded to the ordination of Mr. McDonald by fasting, prayer & the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, giving him also the right hand of fellowship, & installed him pastor of the Presbyterian church in Albany. Mr. Chapman gave the charge to the people. Mr. McDonald then took his seat as a member of the Presbytery."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *MS. Clerk's Book*, of the trustees.

<sup>36</sup> *MS. Minutes of the Presbytery of New York*, vol. 2, pp. 103, ff. It has been thought best to give the minutes with as little curtailment as possible, even at the expense of verbosity, and with a realization that they are far removed from a literary structure.



The church was now prepared to enter upon its new career. The pews of the church were, on November 10th, ordered to be numbered at once, and on the 14th it was resolved to "proceed to the Renting of the Pews on Thursday the fifteenth day of December to Such Persons as are on the Subscription list for the Support of the Minister." Should two or more persons select the same seat, choice was to be determined by ballot, and in case of non-payment, after demand, rights were to be forfeited. This system of selection was rescinded on December 15, and the pews were disposed of by public vendue on that day. There were sixty-four pews, and the Clerk's manuscript record-book gives the names of the original purchasers. The "first Seat on the Right hand going in the chief Door of the Church" was "Appropriated to the Use of the Corporation of this City" (seat No. 12) and the seat opposite (No. 13) to the Governor of the State. The pew next to the pulpit on the right (No. 24) was reserved for the Minister, and on the left for the elders and deacons.<sup>87</sup>

On November 23, 1785, the corporation, at a meeting held "at Mr. Denniston's Tavern," appointed a committee "to prepare a Subscription list, and to tender it to Such Gentlemen of the Town, as they conceive Proper, who are not members of this Church." The clerk was authorized "to take three Shillings for making Publication of Marriage, and Sixpence for every Persons Christened." The price set for "Burying a Person under the Church" was "Three Pounds for an Adult, and thirty Shillings for a Person under fourteen years." At this meeting John Bull (not the original English John Bull) was chosen clerk for one year, at five pounds per annum, to be paid quarterly. Mr. Bull was also given pew number thirty-one, gratis, for the year, but he was dismissed from his office on January 11, following. They next engaged Gregory Grant as sexton "during the Winter Season," at three shillings per Sabbath. His duties were prescribed as follows:

"1 See that the Doors and Window Shutters of the Church are Seasonably opened.

<sup>87</sup> *MS. Clerk's Book, of the trustees.*

"2 See that the fires be made in the Stoves, in the Season thereof, and the Snow Cleared to the doors of the Church.

"3 See that the Stoves be Removed the first day of may and Return them, the first day of November.

"4 See that Children and Servants behave with Decorum during Service.

"5 Endeavour upon approach of Strangers, to conduct them to Seats. Attend Funerals in the Congregation for which a Perquisite of [blank] be taken by him.

"6 Keep the Corporation Seat for them, and Such Persons as they introduce. [No seventh rule]. 8<sup>th</sup>ly Close the Church."

Other resolutions passed at this meeting were:

"Resolved that the Sex[t]on apply Occationally to the Treasurer for money, for purchaseing wood for the Stoves, for the Sawing thereof, and the Treasurer is hereby directed to pay the Same.

"Resolved, that the Side doors of the Church be kept Shut untill Servise is done, in the fore and Afternoon, in order to keep the Church warm during the Winter Season."<sup>38</sup>

The Patroon, Stephen Van Rensselaer, was given the choice of a pew. He chose number four, which was "accordingly assigned for his use, he having the Liberty to make what Improvements on the said Pew he chuses."<sup>39</sup>

The trustees claimed that they were the sole dispensers of the moneys belonging to and collected in the church, under the legislative act relative to religious corporations. This was, of course, their indisputable right, but the vote on the question was not unanimous among their own number, and the Session also dissented. The trustees proposed as a compromise that the elders and deacons take up the collections in the church and deposit them in the treasury of the corporation, but the Session "could not agree With the Proposals of the Trustees."<sup>40</sup>

Rev. Mr. McDonald, the pastor, at the request of the Ses-

<sup>38</sup> *MS. Clerk's Book.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, Dec. 7, 1785.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, Jan. 27, 1786.

sion, on April 5, 1786, laid before the trustees a proposition for erecting a school under the direction of the church. After deliberation, the trustees recommended delay, because they had been informed officially that the city "was pushing a Subscription for the erecting an Academy."

In June, 1876, arrangements were begun for repairs to the church edifice. Trustees Henry and Watson were constituted a committee to wait upon Philip Van Rensselaer "to enquire respecting the Lead taken out of the Church for the use of the Army & to demand a return of the same." They conferred with Van Rensselaer, who promised to apply to the governor in the matter. They also made inquiry of John Fulsom, a pewholder, whether he would be willing to "warn to Funerals, walk before the Corps and to have the Perquisites allowed for the Same." He accepted the office, at an honorarium of twelve shillings. The charges for use of bier and funeral cloth were fixed at six shillings for grown persons and two shillings for children. The sexton was allowed six shillings for digging graves for adults and four shillings for children.

The repairs undertaken, in 1786, were quite extensive and included one hundred panes of glass, painting of all sashes, repair of stoves, purchase of a bell, funeral bier and cloth, restoring doors, four supporters for the steeple, etc. The records show that at this time Robert Henry, a trustee, had advanced out of his private possessions the sum of £3256, 19d., 3 farthings.

On January 31, 1787, the trustees adopted a church seal, "a Dove descending with an Olive Branch in its mouth," inscribed "Presbyterian Church Albany," and this seal was put in the custody of the clerk of the board. This seal is yet under the care of the present clerk. It is interesting to mention that this metal seal was made by Stephen A. Hopkins, not of course a relation of the present pastor of this church, who charged £1, 4s. for it.

The bell, for the steeple, which had been bought in 1787 from David Ross, a bell-founder in New Jersey, was unsatisfactory, and the trustees notified him that he "must expect

to have it returned on his hands as it is not agreeable to his contract." Accordingly, the bell went back to David Ross, but the new casting caused likewise "general dissatisfaction in the Congregation" and the bell was once more (May, 1789) consigned to Mr. Storm, of New York, the church's agent in the transaction. It weighed 690 pounds. In March, 1790, they made inquiries about the cost of a bell of 600 pounds from Doolittle, of New Haven, Connecticut. In August, 1791, they informed Doolittle that the bell he had furnished was cracked and useless. He agreed to recast it, and back it was sent.

On January 4, 1790, the trustees "Resolved that one thousand Coppers be stamped with the impression of (Church Penny) to be placed in the hands of the treasurer for the purpose of Exchanging to the congregation at the rate of twelve for a Shilling, in order to add respect to the weekly collections." Specimens of this impression of the church money now command high prices and are diligently sought after for the cabinets of numismatists.

In March, 1790, application was made to the corporation of the city of Albany for a burying ground. The common council, on March 6, granted "five acres of Ground comprised in the following Bounderies," "on the North by Princess Street on the East by Duke Street on the south by Predeaux Street and on the West by the Lot in which a vault has lately been constructed," granting the same to the Dutch, Episcopal, Lutheran and Presbyterian churches. The Presbyterian allotment was the easternmost, consisting of one and one-sixth acres. Title was taken on April 16. In April of the following year (1791) members of the congregation set to work in leveling the burying ground.

In the late winter of 1792, negotiations were set on foot for the purchase of a new lot for the erection of a new house of worship. This lot was on what was known as "the plains" on the "east of Washington street" (now South Pearl). In July, 1793, James Bloodgood was desired to draw up plans for the new church. Subscriptions were taken up. In August it was determined that "the proposed New brick Church" should be sixty-four feet in length and sixty-two feet in

breadth, exclusive of the steeple. An estimate was asked of Mr. Packard, a builder. In December provision was made for contracting for 300,000 bricks. A committee on ways and means was appointed on January 15, 1794. At the end of March, the following advertisement was placed in Webster's Albany newspaper:

"Proposals for building a brick Presbyterian Church in this City, for which a grate part of the meterials are already procured, any person wishing to undertake is desired to deliver in their terms by the first day of May next and by applying to Mr. James Bloodgood may see the plan and be informed of the Quant[it]y of meterials Already ingaged for the purpose."<sup>41</sup>

On April 4, 1794, Bloodgood reported and produced a plan for the new church, which was accepted unanimously. By midsummer the work on the foundations was well forward. The trustees planned for raising subscriptions for the project and for raising the salary of their pastor. On August 18, Mr. McDonald's salary was raised from £230 to £300 per annum. Nine members and the pastor by a written instrument of December 11, 1794, agreed each to loan £200 for the completion of the church. The trustees accepted the offer at their meeting on January 9, 1795, and arranged for repayment out of the pew-rents, after the new structure would be occupied. At this time, as shown by the sworn deposition of the board, the entire annual revenues and income of the church amounted to about £1200.

Through publication of advertisements in the newspapers, proposals were solicited for building the church. At a meeting of the trustees, February 17, 1795, several proposals were opened. All of these bids were incomplete and "further Consideration was defered untill more particular information be received." On March 4, according to invitation, Elisha Putnam of Lansingburgh met with the trustees and laid before them the following proposition, viz.:

"To Compleat the out side of the Meeting hous including laying the lower flowrs, that is to rais the Walls, Tower, Spire,

<sup>41</sup> This text is taken from the *MS. Clerk's Book* of the trustees.

Doors, Frontises, Window frames, Sashes, Glass, Glazing & painting all the wood woork with two Coats, except spire with three coats. The above work I will ingage to perform finding all the materials for the sum of three thousand and one Hundred pounds." Mr. Putnam named two persons as his security for carrying out the contract. After some alterations had been made in the plans, the trustees settled upon the following specifications, on March 17, 1795, viz.:

"A Description of a Church to be built on the foundation laid in the third Ward of the City of Albany for the Corporation of the Presbyterian Congr[eg]ation by Mr. Elisha Putnam

"Said Church is to be built of nine inch brick, seventy six feet long, and sixty three feet six inches broad, the walls to be twenty eight feet high from the watter tables to the plates, the lenght [sic] of two brick and a half thick to the Galerys and the lenght [sic] of two brick thick upwards, with a tower sixty feet high, finished with a cornish, & eighteen feet squair three lenghts [sic] of a brick thick projecting four feet from the boddy of the Church. A stepel to be ninety feet high from the top of the tower proportioned in sercumferance according to the squair of the tower and is to be composed of two octagen sections with balls or urns on each squair, a semi section and spire with a Copper ball two feet six inches in diameter to be well painted and gilt with gold leaf with a neet scrole and vain all according to a drauft and skale now in the posession of the board of Trustees.

"The building to have neet double Jet cornish to be continued round with a pitched pediment in frunt of the tower, the Gabel and cornished singel, and thirty one windows containing twenty four lights each eleven by fourteen inch glass, One ovel window in frunt of the tower and a sounding window with vernicion blindes in each squair of the tower and four square windows with round tops in the lower section of the stepel, the second section to have eight and the semi section to have four paintings in imitation of sashes and glass as represented in the drauft above refered to, the window fraims to be boxed for but without waits.—The building to have

three out side and one inside dore eight pannels each, the two tower dores to be made with two leaves each three dorres frontices with palasters, the out side dores to be finished with proportioned Collums and pitched or raked pediments over dore frunted with a stoop to each dore composed of suteable timber and plank, with a sizabel circular platform and an easy flight of steps.

"The roof of the building to be framed with nine pairs principals to be secured with iron stirrip, bolts and screws wherever they are represented in a draft now in the hands of the board of trustees. The Shingles of the roof to be painted with two coats spanish brown, the steple painted with three coats white lead, the cornishes dores window Sashes & frames and frontices with two coats white lead, The flooring to be framed with Sills fourteen by ten inch to be ten feet distant from each other, with a sufficient quantity of sizable Joice, The gallarys framed with frunt beems twelve by ten in thick with Joice framed in wall plates worked in the wall and well braised to prevent spreiding, — The lower floor to be laid with pitch pine plank groved and matched."<sup>42</sup>

At the same meeting at which these specifications were recorded, articles of agreement were entered into with the builder, Elisha Putnam, involving an outlay for construction of £3250, to be paid by instalments. In May, the board began to call for part of the loans which, in the previous year, had been offered, as already stated. The need of more funds was imperative. On May 27, the trustees "Resolved that the Rev<sup>d</sup> John M<sup>c</sup>Donald be requested to go to N. York and such other places as he shall think most advisable to solicit contributions for compleating our present under taking." The long parchment subscription list of May, 1795, circulated under this resolution, is yet preserved carefully by this church, and is doubly interesting because it bears the autograph signatures of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Alexander Hosack, Brockholst Livingston, Gerard Bancker, Hugh Gaine, Gabriel Furman, and other celebrities in statecraft, science and letters. At a

<sup>42</sup> *MS. Clerk's Book.*

subsequent meeting (June 8) Jacob Wright was requested to accompany the minister to New York and other places to garner in assistance, and Trustees Eights, Woodruff and Webster were constituted a building committee. The name of Charles R. Webster, "father of printing" in Albany, deserves more than passing notice.

The minister went on his mission and, meanwhile, the Rev. Walter Monteith acted as a supply.<sup>43</sup> Soon after Mr. McDonald's return, namely, on September 11, 1795, the Session placed their pastor under charges before the Albany Presbytery on account of "reports apparently too well grounded, tending to criminate the Rev<sup>d</sup>. John McDonald's moral character." Thus, amidst the difficulties attending large building operations, accompanied by great financial obligations, the church now suffered in its very vital spiritual relations. The records of the Session reflect the sorrow of the congregation. The Session sought the advice and direction of Presbytery "in the present difficult and trying circumstances." The relations of Mr. McDonald with the Albany Presbytery were dissolved, but recommendation was made to the church "to receive Mr. McDonald [as a member], upon proper application, after public confession."<sup>44</sup> In January, 1796, we find the trustees engaged in settling accounts with him.<sup>45</sup> He continued, however, to preach in Albany, after being deposed, for a number of years, gathered about him his adherents, and formed what is now the United Presbyterian Church. He died in September, 1821.<sup>46</sup>

On February 7, 1796, a contract was made for finishing the interior of the new church, amounting to £963, New York currency.

<sup>43</sup> *MS. Clerk's Book*, January 27 and April 6, 1796.

<sup>44</sup> *MS. Session Records*, vol. 1, pp. 1, 2, 16.

<sup>45</sup> *MS. Clerk's Book*.

<sup>46</sup> Blayney. *First Presbyterian Church* (1877), p. 20. The reasons for which McDonald was deposed from the ministry are given in the history of the Albany Presbytery, in *Journal of Presby. Hist. Society*, vol. 3, pp. 228, 231, 232. The Presbytery of Albany was erected by the Synod of New York and New Jersey, on October 8, 1790. *Ibid*, p. 224.



Governor George Clinton had presented a lot of ground on Main Street, in Lansingburgh, to the church, and the trustees ordered that it be disposed of at "Public Sale" on or before the second Tuesday of February, 1797, to provide funds for the new church. It was sold for £50. Disagreement arose with the builder, Elisha Putnam, over the two contracts that had been entered into with him. They agreed, on November 18 and 24, 1797, to submit their differences to two arbitrators. Arrangements were made for locating, numbering and disposing of seats. Pew number 122 was reserved for the minister's family, and number 62 for the sexton. Apparently there were all told 122 pews on the main floor. The annual rental varied from \$4 to \$10.50 per year for pews in the body of the church and \$3 to \$7 for front seats in the gallery. The pew committee, on January 27, 1797, reported the amount obtained at public sale for pews to be \$8398.75, and assured annual income therefrom as \$525.50.<sup>47</sup>

This second house of worship was located at what is to-day South Pearl and Beaver Streets. In 1831 it was considerably enlarged, remodelled and improved, and was described in a newspaper of that day as "the most elegantly finished church in the city."<sup>48</sup> After the occupation of the third edifice, the second building was sold to the Congregationalists. Subsequently, used for business purposes, it was known as "Beaver Block,"<sup>49</sup> and what remains is to-day part of a theater.

About August, 1796, the trustees and Session were negotiating with David S. Bogart to be their pastor. On February 17, 1797, the trustees made further provision to signalize the Presbytery for "prosecuting the Call" of Mr. Bogart as pastor.<sup>50</sup> He seems to have been in service before the middle of March, when an account of his was ordered paid by the board. On July 29, the trustees deliberated about "the pro-

<sup>47</sup> *MS. Clerk's Book.*

<sup>48</sup> Munsell. *Annals of Albany*, vol. 9, p. 230.

<sup>49</sup> Blayney, pp. 54, 55.

<sup>50</sup> Bogart was a licentiate of the Reformed Dutch Synod, but was taken under the care of the Albany Presbytery.—*Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, vol. 3, p. 229.

priety of raising the salary of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. David S. Bogart," and suggested a compromise. He seems not to have been satisfied, for, on September 11, 1797, the Albany Presbytery, at his own solicitation, dismissed him from Presbytery and dissolved his connection with the Albany congregation.<sup>51</sup> In June, he had requested a vacation "for a few weeks in hopes of recovering his health," by taking "a Journey to the Southward."<sup>52</sup> Apparently, on account of ill-health and the financial difficulties in the congregation, he had concluded to go back to Southampton, L. I., from whence he had come to Albany.<sup>53</sup>

At this period, the congregation often listened to sermons of Dr. John Blair Smith, first president of Union College (1795). It was he who preached at the opening of their second house of worship. It was he who brought about the pastorate of Eliphalet Nott—a pastorate begun on October 3, 1798, and terminated in August, 1804, when Dr. Nott was inducted as the third president of Union College. It was in this year (1804) that Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, who had attended services in the First Church, fought the duel which robbed Hamilton of his life, and the nation of one of its greatest master-minds. Dr. Nott preached a funeral eulogy—a sermon against duelling—which obtained wide celebrity.<sup>54</sup>

The immediate successors of Dr. Nott were: John B. Romeyn, from December 5, 1804, till November, 1808; and William Neill, from September 14, 1809, till August 20, 1816. These three former pastors of this church were Moderators of the General Assembly of the denomination—Dr. Romeyn in 1810, Dr. Nott in 1811, and Dr. Neill in 1815. During the pastorate of Dr. Neill, the Second Presbyterian Church was organized (1813), and it was he who preached the dedicatory sermon. The Third Presbyterian Church was organized in 1817, and the Fourth Church in 1829. Albany now had four

<sup>51</sup> *MS. Clerk's Book.*

<sup>52</sup> *MS. Session Records*, vol. 1, p. 24.

<sup>53</sup> Blayney, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.

Presbyterian congregations, whilst New York City had nineteen.

Extension of the national and religious life was assured by the termination of the second war with Great Britain and the inception of a reign of peace. That war also terminated the formative period of Presbyterianism in Albany.

We have elaborated the temporalities of the beginnings of the Presbyterian church in Albany, because written records and printed sources deal largely with this aspect. The spiritual forces are hidden; are written in the hearts of men and women; are expressed in the deeds that "speak louder than words;" for "by their fruits ye shall know them." The contributions of the Presbyterian church to the civic and religious life of Albany were honorable and important.

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.\*

BY JOHN EDMANDS, A. M.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century the few Presbyterians and Congregationalists who were in the city of Philadelphia, were living in such close relation that no fair history of this church can be drawn up that does not take account of some transactions in England.

In 1691 the Presbyterians and Independents in and around London agreed to drop the names by which they had hitherto been known, and to work together as one body. They decided to take the name of "United Brethren of London." The paper which was the basis of this union has been known as "Heads of Agreement."<sup>1</sup> On account of the bearing of this document upon the beginning of church life in this region, it demands a careful consideration.

In examining this paper the first thing that arrests attention is the absence of the words "Presbytery" and "session," or any word of like import. The word "elder" does occur in this connection, "Whereas divers are of opinion that there is the office of Ruling Elders . . . and others think otherwise, we agree that this difference make no breach among us." It stipulates that particular churches have the right to use their own officers, and have authority from Christ for exercising government and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within themselves; and there is no intimation that any church must give account of itself or its acts to any other

\*This article was accepted for publication with the understanding that its esteemed author should be free to make his own readings of the authorities, and that the editor should be equally free to present a different interpretation of them. It will be followed, accordingly, by a paper entitled "The General Presbytery and New England" by Dr. William H. Roberts.—EDITOR.

<sup>1</sup>Hill, *American Presbyterianism*, Washington, 1839, p. 74. Walker, *Creeks and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York, 1893, p. 455.

body. It provides that as offenses will come, so Christ has made it the duty of every church to reform itself by spiritual remedies appointed by Him, and directs that the rule in Matthew 18 be followed in all cases. It declares that none of the particular churches shall be subordinate to one another, each being endued with equality of power from Christ; and that none shall exercise any power or have any superiority over any other church.

Regarding subscription to a creed, this document says, "As to what pertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the Word of God—the perfect and only rule of faith and practice," and own either the doctrinal part of the Articles of the Church of England, or the Westminster Confession, or the Savoy Confession, as agreeable to that rule.

This transaction will be seen to have large significance in its bearing upon the first forms of church life in this city, when we consider the views of polity held by the first pastor of this church, and the fact that the first ministers who came here from England were sent out by those who had agreed upon this document; and that they were expected to work in harmony with its principles.<sup>2</sup>

Before the arrival in this country of Francis Makemie, and before any attempt had been made here to organize a church, Congregationalists had reached out beyond New England, and had carried their work out as far as South Carolina. Several churches had been established in New Jersey, which continued to maintain the Congregational method of government for a considerable time after they became attached to Presbytery. Excepting the Episcopal and a few Dutch churches the Congregational was the prevailing polity in the Middle and South Atlantic provinces until the latter part of the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> As early as 1642 several such churches had been organized in Virginia, and in that year, at their request three ministers from Massachusetts were sent

<sup>2</sup> Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. I, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Congregational Quarterly*, October, 1877.

into that state to aid them. In 1648 one of these churches had over one hundred members.<sup>4</sup> Owing to the violent opposition of the executive of the colony these churches were all forced out of existence.<sup>5</sup>

Rev. Francis Makemie, who has been called the father of Presbyterianism in America, came to this country in or about 1684. He labored with much success for a number of years in the colonies to the south of Pennsylvania. Coming to Philadelphia near the close of the century, he became a close friend of Rev. Jedediah Andrews, and worked energetically with him.

Up to this time no church had been formed in Philadelphia. There were here, besides the Friends, Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians; but not enough of any one denomination to maintain a church. In 1698 a number of these people joined in an agreement to support public worship. They met for the first time for this purpose in a building situated at the northwest corner of Chestnut and Second Streets.<sup>6</sup> The first public service seems to have been held on the second Sunday in December of that year. Their first minister was Rev. John Watts, a Baptist clergyman from England, who had been preaching for a short time at Pennepack. He was followed by a Rev. Mr. Clayton, an Episcopalian, lately come from England. Other ministers served the congregation, as their services could be secured.

This joint arrangement was continued for only a short time. The Baptists, on account of some real or fancied neglect or ill treatment, soon ceased their coöperation, and not long after the Episcopalians withdrew. The formal organization of the church took place some time in the year 1698. It was composed of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. It continued to hold public worship in the Barbadoes store until 1704. In that year they erected a building on the south side

<sup>4</sup> Holmes' *Annals*, 2d ed., Vol. I, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> *Congregational Quarterly*, October, 1877.

<sup>6</sup> Hazard's *Register*, Vol. VIII, p. 22. Webster, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 312.

of what is now Market Street, at the corner of the present Bank Street.<sup>7</sup> This building was used as their place of worship for about twenty-five years. In July, 1698, Rev. Jedediah Andrews came to Philadelphia, and was the first pastor of this church. He was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, July 7, 1674, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1695, and was soon licensed to preach. He was probably ordained pastor of the church in 1701. He held the office until his death in 1747. He was by training and by conviction a Congregationalist throughout all his life; and during all his ministry of nearly fifty years, the affairs of his church were managed by the body of its members. It had no session, and no elders in the sense in which the word is now used in Presbyterian phraseology. He used committee men all his life.<sup>8</sup>

The churches here were financially weak, and in 1709 the Presbytery wrote to Sir Edmund Harrison and other friends in London for the continuance of the assistance they had been receiving. Those who came in compliance with this appeal were of course expected to labor in harmony with the provisions of the "Heads of Agreement." The Presbytery asked that whatever "they should be pleased to transmit, as to letter or otherwise, may be directed to Mr. Andrews."<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Andrews and Mr. Makemie felt the burden of the care of the churches. The matter of supplying ministers for the work weighed heavily upon the Presbytery, and they were little anxious as to where they came from, or what were their views of church polity, if only they were good men.<sup>10</sup>

In 1729 the church enlarged its house of worship in such manner that it continued to serve them until 1793. They were enabled to effect this improvement by large contributions from churches in Boston. Referring to this generosity, Rev. Mr. Andrews, writing to Rev. Thomas Prince, says "the

<sup>7</sup> Watson's *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 448; Vol. III, p. 306.

<sup>8</sup> *Congregational Quarterly*, October, 1877.

<sup>9</sup> Hazard's *Register*, Vol. VIII, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. I, pp. 24, 25.

aid that was kindly afforded us from Boston was of singular use to us in enlarging our house, which I think would not have been done without it." <sup>11</sup>

As a result of the labors of Mr. Makemie and others, a number of Presbyterian churches had been established in this region, and in 1705 or 1706, there was formed a body that was called a Presbytery. Mr. Andrews was a member of this body, but the church had no other representative in it for a long time. It differed little from a Congregational Association. We are not left to conjecture or tradition as to what was the character of this body.

Makemie and Andrews were masterspirits, by whose influence the Presbytery was chiefly formed. Makemie controlled the Presbyterian, and Andrews the Congregational materials which entered into that ecclesiastical polity, and which were the origination of American Presbyterianism, and gave to it its distinctive features in contradistinction to the strict, rigid and exclusive Scotch system. With the advice of Makemie the Presbytery was organized upon a basis that suited Mr. Andrews and his friends. They said, "We will accept the name of Presbytery, provided the body when formed shall assume no authority over the churches. We do not care for the name, but we do care for the freedom of the churches." <sup>12</sup>

Some of the early proceedings of this body are in accord with this statement of its constitution and purpose. In about 1708 there were serious contentions and animosities in the church at Woodbridge, N. J., which was still a Congregational church, but which had come into relation with the Presbytery. The trouble arose from the accession of Mr. Wade to be the minister of that town. The Presbytery, instead of taking usual presbyterial action to compose the trouble, wrote to several Congregational ministers in Con-

<sup>11</sup> Hazard's *Register*, Vol. XV, p. 200. Hill, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. 1, p. 24. *Congregational Quarterly*, October, 1877.



necticut, asking for their advice and assistance in the matter. In this letter they speak of the formation of the Presbytery, apologetically, adding, "In which our undertaking, as we would not have anything to be advanced that may be disgusting to any pious soul, but the contrary, so it is our universal desire to walk in the nearest union and fellowship with the churches in those parts where you inhabit; not knowing any difference of opinion so weighty as to inhibit such a proposal, nor doubting of your cordial assent thereto."<sup>13</sup>

In his *History of the Presbyterian Church* Dr. Hodge says, "It is admitted that the early history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States is involved in great obscurity."<sup>14</sup> "It is highly probable that there were several churches connected with the Presbytery before 1715 which were but imperfectly organized."<sup>15</sup> In proof of this he cites a minute adopted by the Presbytery in 1714, as follows: "For the better establishing and settling of congregations, it is ordered and appointed, that in every congregation there be a sufficient number of assistants chosen, to aid the minister in the management of congregational affairs."<sup>16</sup> If each had had its full bench of elders, there would have been no occasion for this order. It confirms the statement that Mr. Andrews used committee men in his church. "It is certainly to be inferred from these minutes, that there were some congregations in 1714, which had no regular sessions."<sup>17</sup>

"Few of the earliest churches, which were subsequently under the control of Presbytery, were strictly Presbyterian in their origin, . . . Their organization and formal union with any ecclesiastical denomination, were subsequent measures."<sup>18</sup> The reason why the Presbyterian bodies did not establish a constitution was that they might be more accept-

<sup>13</sup> Hill, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 89.

<sup>14</sup> P. 19.

<sup>15</sup> P. 93.

<sup>16</sup> P. 94.

<sup>17</sup> P. 94.

<sup>18</sup> Hazard's *Register*, Vol. VIII, p. 22.

able to Congregational churches, and so bring them into their connection.<sup>19</sup>

For more than twenty years none of the churches in this region had any definite creed nor any settled form of procedure. The Presbytery was only imperfectly organized. It had not adopted the Westminster standards nor any prescribed form of discipline. Various attempts were made by Scotch and Irish ministers who had lately come over, to secure a more strict government, and one more in accordance with that which prevailed in the old country; but these efforts failed of success. "The necessity for a specific adoption of standards by the Presbytery does not yet seem to have occurred."<sup>20</sup> "The Irish ministers who came over about this time had been partisans in the conflict which was so disastrous to the interests of the church in Ireland, and it was feared that their connection with the Presbyterian church here would renew among these weak churches the agitations that had done such mischiefs in Ireland."<sup>21</sup> In 1727 those who wished to bring the churches here into closer accordance with those in Ireland and Scotland presented to the Synod an overture looking to the adoption of such a measure. At the time no action was taken upon it. It was feared as the introduction of a system of church discipline and church legislation such as in the days of Cromwell had lost England to the Presbyterian church.<sup>22</sup> In 1728 this subject was again brought up, and the Synod referred it to a committee. Upon the report of this committee the Synod in the next year adopted the Confession and the Directory of Worship, with such modifications as suited Mr. Andrews and his friends. In the Adopting Act they say: we "do utterly disclaim all legislative power and authority in the church, being willing to receive one another as Christ has received us to the glory of God, and admit to fellowship in sacred ordinances all such as we have ground to believe Christ will at last admit to

<sup>19</sup> *Congregational Quarterly*, October, 1877.

<sup>20</sup> Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. I, p. 31.

<sup>21</sup> Gillett, Vol. I, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup> Gillett, Vol. I, p. 54.

the Kingdom of Heaven." <sup>23</sup> There was such unity and heartiness in this action that the Synod unanimously agreed in giving thanks to God in solemn prayer and praise. <sup>24</sup> Dr. Gillett says there are many facts which put the character of the Adopting Act as a compromise measure entirely beyond question. Dr Green was right in judgment of it, that it left nothing of Presbyterianism but the name. <sup>25</sup>

For some years after the Westminster Standards were in form adopted it was generally understood that they were not to be regarded as compulsory, and might be disregarded by any who did not wish to accept them. In a report to the Synod it was said, "In case any minister of the Synod, or any candidate for the ministry, shall have any scruple with respect to any article or articles of said confession or catechism, he shall, at the time of his making said declaration, declare his sentiments to the Presbytery or Synod, who shall, notwithstanding, admit him to the exercise of the ministry within our bounds, and to ministerial communion, if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge his scruple or mistake to be only about articles not essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government." <sup>26</sup>

Available sources of information do not afford us the means of determining just when this church became distinctly Presbyterian. The *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 236, states that it was in 1729, when the enlargement of the building was made. But as the funds necessary for this improvement came from Congregationalists in Massachusetts, this date cannot be accepted. The change in polity must have been made gradually under the influence of the increasing number and influence of Irish and Scotch immigrants.

<sup>23</sup> Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. I, p. 55.

<sup>24</sup> Gillett, Vol. I, p. 56.

<sup>25</sup> Gillett, Vol. I, p. 57.

<sup>26</sup> Gillett, Vol. I, p. 56.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING  
JANUARY 12, 1910.

The great historical event of the year was the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the birth of John Calvin, which was duly observed not only in Geneva, but in our land, and in other parts of the world. Your Council did not fail to recognize the work and worth of this great man, as will be seen from future references in this report.

The work of the Council during the year has been largely routine, but faithfully performed by the various committees entrusted with the carrying out of the plans and purposes of the Society.

These committees are as follows: Library, Publication, Museum and Gallery, Finance, Membership, Meetings, House, and Historical Memorials.

It would make this report too lengthy to give in full the report of each committee, but we gather from them such items as we think will be of special interest, and as will properly set forth the work of the Society.

**LIBRARY.**—During the year two hundred and eighty-five persons have consulted the Library, and a number have applied for information by letter. There have been ten hundred and fifty-five books and pamphlets received, and seven hundred and twenty-nine cards have been added to the catalogue; four hundred and eighty letters have been written. The work of assorting the accumulated church newspapers has been completed, but many of the files are broken. Efforts are being made to complete such files, and the various religious papers have greatly helped by inserting notices of the numbers which are needed.

The family of our late Vice-President Edward B. Hodge kindly offered us our choice from his library, and we have

received from them some twenty-five volumes as chosen by the Librarian.

The Library joined with Dr. McCook, Dr. Jas. I. Good and the Museum and Gallery Committee in forming the Quatre-Centenary Calvin Exhibit, and our entire collection of books bearing on Calvin and the Calvinistic Reformation was arranged for the use of students and preachers. Owing to recent additions the collection was a particularly fine one.

It is impossible to fully tabulate the work of this Committee, but conscientious service has been rendered by the Honorary Librarian, and by the Clerk, which is manifest to all familiar with the Library.

PUBLICATION.—The JOURNAL has been published regularly during the year, and the thanks of the Society are due to the painstaking and faithful labors of the Editor, the Rev. Dr. Benson. This publication should be maintained, for it gives us a standing among the Historical Societies of the world, besides keeping the Society itself in touch with its members.

MUSEUM AND GALLERY.—Two exhibitions have been held during the year: one a small exhibit made in connection with the centenary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, and the other already referred to in the Library Committee's report of the Calvin exhibition.

Considerable work has been done during the year upon the Shiells Collection of Tokens, and it has progressed so far that of the total number of pieces we possess, six hundred and ninety of them actually have been mounted.

The Society's collections, as contained in the Museum and Gallery, have grown steadily, and considerable interest has been manifested in these by the number of visitors who have visited our rooms and inspected the exhibits.

By a request of Mrs. Cecilia Baldwin Darley two busts and pedestals have come into our possession: One is of the late Mr. M. W. Baldwin, and the other of the late Rev. Albert Barnes. Another gift by the Society's friend, Mr. J. P. Shiells, of his father's manuscript of the "Story of the Token," is noteworthy, also the gift of the model of the proposed statue of the Rev. Michael Schlatter (a small re-

production of the accepted design.) In addition to these, two purchases may be noted, one a colored engraving of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the other a portrait of President William Henry Harrison.

During the year forty-two letters have been written and three hundred and forty-four cards added to the catalogue.

It has been suggested that the Standing Committee of the Philadelphia Presbytery, and other similar bodies, help to arrange for exhibits and do what they can to bring the Society's collections to the notice of the public at large.

**FINANCE.**—The report of the Treasurer so fully sets forth the financial condition of the Society that anything under this head would necessarily be repetition. We need money, and the more we have the better can we administer this sacred trust of gathering and preserving the records of the past as related to the Churches of the Reformed faith. In this report we desire to recognize the long and faithful service of our Treasurer, Dr. De B. K. Ludwig.

**MEMBERSHIP.**—During the year seventeen new members were added. There have been five deaths as follows: Mr. Francis Olcott Allen, Rev. J. Stuart Dickson, Rev. W. M. Glasgow, Mr. J. F. Simons and James Steen, Esq. For some time we have been carrying names of members who seem to have lost interest in the Society, and on motion of the Membership Committee eighteen names were dropped, and the resignations of eleven other persons were accepted. The total membership at this date is two hundred and twenty-five, and while it is less than reported last year, it is not discouraging by comparison, yet the number should be greatly increased, and we trust it will be during this year.

**MEETINGS.**—This Committee has been unusually active during the year, as will be seen by the record of Literary Sessions, etc., which have been held. They are as follows:

On March 1, 1909, Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Philadelphia, gave an address on "Pennsylvania's Debt to Her Pioneer Educators of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches."

The 400th Anniversary of the birth of John Calvin was

observed on the evening of April 22, with a dinner at the Hotel Walton. One hundred and ten guests were present. The Chairman of the Council presided. Addresses were made by Dr. McCook, Rev. George W. Richards, D. D., Professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., and the Rev. Henry C. Minton, D. D. of Trenton, N. J.

On May 14, an Address was given on "Calvin," illustrated, by Rev. James I. Good, D. D., Professor in the Central Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Dayton, Ohio.

On November 15, an Address was given by Rev. M. A. Brownson, D. D., on the "Calvin Celebration in Geneva and Calvin's City as it is To-day."

On December 13, the President of the Society, Dr. McCook, read a very interesting paper on "Henry Cooke of Ulster." All of these meetings were of interest and profitable to all who attended them.

HOUSE.—During the summer the rooms were put in good order, and the stacks and books thoroughly dusted. The Reading Room has been used two hundred and five times. The use of the rooms was granted to the Eurydice Chorus for a tea on April 15, and to the Rev. J. W. Cochran, D. D., of the Presbyterian Board of Education, for a public meeting and tea on April 17. On June 26, a reception was given to members of the Alliance of Reformed Churches visiting Philadelphia. Various Committees have met in the rooms from time to time.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS.—A new Committee was constituted during the year charged with the supervision of Makemie Memorial Park, Witherspoon Monument, and such other historical sites, buildings, monuments, and memorials, as may be within the care of the Society, but apart from its Museum and Gallery.

The Hon. Frank Fletcher, M. D. of Jenkins Bridge, Va., was requested to act as honorary custodian of the Makemie Monument and Park. He accepted the appointment in May, and has from time to time made reports with sundry recommendations.

Attention has been given to the Witherspoon Monument in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, and a letter from the Secretary of the Fairmount Park Commission states that it was erected October 20, 1876, upon ground which was then under the control of the Centennial Commission. Since, then, it has been moved a short distance from the original site, but is still within the limits of Fairmount Park.

The Committee have in contemplation the marking of the original site of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, with a suitable tablet commemorative of the fact that there was established the first insurance corporation of the world, "The Presbyterian Ministers' Fund."

There is in preparation a communication and blank for replies to be sent the clerks of all Presbyteries, or similar bodies of the denominations represented in our Society, in order to ascertain, so far as possible, what points of general historical interest are within the boundaries of these respective divisions, also the names of persons in the various localities apt to interest themselves practically in work along these lines.

The important work which can be performed by the Historical Memorials Committee will be more appreciated each succeeding year.

In the providence of God we are pleased to report that the lives of all the members of the Executive Council have been spared during the year, but we have to announce that E. Smith Kelly, Esq., the Rev. P. H. Milliken, D. D., and the Rev. James Price, D. D., resigned from the Council, and their resignations were accepted with regret.

A question arose during the year as to the interpretation of Article VII of the Constitution, which reads as follows: "The Executive Council shall consist of not less than twelve nor more than thirty members, of whom seven shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; and the President, the Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, the Librarian and the Treasurer shall be members *ex officio*." Last year the Council was composed of thirty-five men, including the President, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, the Librarian and the Treasurer. The question was whether the



Council could have thirty members independent of the officers, or whether thirty should include the officers. Upon submission to our Solicitor for an opinion, he decided that the Executive Council should consist of not more than thirty members, including the officers. Bowing in submission to the opinion of our Solicitor, we are to elect but thirty members to the Council at the meeting to-day.

Our Society has a noble purpose, and should receive the encouragement and support of more of the members of the churches holding to the Presbyterian system of church government. We feel satisfied that many are not interested in our work because of their lack of knowledge. If every member of the Society would endeavor to get a new member during this year, and would bring persons to our rooms so that they might see for themselves what the Society is doing, we feel sure that our work would be enlarged, and the necessity for such an institution become more and more apparent as the years go by.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. H. SCOTT,  
Chairman.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in its Rooms on Thursday afternoon, January 13, 1910, at 3 o'clock, the President, the Rev. Dr. Henry C. McCook, presiding.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. James Crawford, D. D.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

Mr. William H. Scott, Chairman of the Executive Council, presented the annual report of the Executive Council. On motion the report was received, with the thanks of the Society, and ordered to be printed in the JOURNAL.

The Treasurer presented his annual report as follows:

### DE BENNEVILLE K. LUDWIG, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

#### *GENERAL ENDOWMENT ACCOUNT*

	Dr.	Cr.
To amount of fund, January 1, 1909 .....	\$5,378 78	
Life membership fee—Miss Elizabeth N. Brown .	100 00	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of fund.....	\$5,478 78	
Interest from investments .....	184 00	
Interest from deposit in Western Saving Fund ...	20 20	
By investments .....		\$4,626 75
Deposit in Western Saving Fund .....		852 03
Current expense account .....		204 20
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$5,682 98	\$5,682 98

#### *WM. C. CATTELL ENDOWMENT ACCOUNT*

To amount of fund .....	\$2,600 00	
Interest from investments .....	104 00	
By investments .....		\$2,591 75
Deposit in Western Saving Fund .....		8 25
Library maintenance account .....		104 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$2,704 00	\$2,704 00

*JAMES LATTA ENDOWMENT ACCOUNT*

To amount of fund .....	\$1,000 00	
Interest from investments .....	40 00	
By investments .....		\$990 00
Deposit in Western Saving Fund .....		10 00
Museum and Gallery maintenance account.....		40 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$1,040 00	\$1,040 00

*ELIZABETH PERKINS CONVERSE ENDOWMENT ACCOUNT*

To amount of fund .....	\$1,500 00	
Interest from investments .....	75 00	
By investments .....		\$1,500 00
Current expense account .....		75 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$1,575 00	\$1,575 00

*SUMMARY OF ENDOWMENT ACCOUNTS*

	Dr.	Cr.
General Endowment Fund .....	\$5,478 78	
Wm. C. Cattell Endowment Fund .....	2,600 00	
James Latta Endowment Fund .....	1,000 00	
Elizabeth Perkins Converse Endowment Fund ....	1,500 00	
Investments .....		\$9,698 50
Balance deposited in Western Saving Fund ....		880 28
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$10,578 78	\$10,578 78

*CURRENT EXPENSE ACCOUNT*

To balance, January 1, 1909 .....	\$203 08	
204 annual dues .....	1,020 00	
Interest from General Endowment Fund .....	204 20	
Interest from Elizabeth Perkins Converse Endowment Fund .....	75 00	
Interest from bank deposits .....	32 25	
Sales of Journals .....	27 00	
Use of rooms .....	3 00	
Sale of tickets for the annual dinner .....	214 00	
By salaries of clerk and janitor.....		\$590 00
Printing and mailing four issues of Journal, with index (net cost, \$517.02).....		544 02
Expense of annual dinner (net cost, \$20.35) .....		234 35
Expense of Membership Committee .....		42 64
Expense of Meetings Committee.....		26 10

Extra cleaning .....	45 00
Incidental expenses of clerk .....	25 00
Incidental expenses, Museum and Gallery.....	10 00
Printing, postage and other sundries .....	52 02
Repairs, House Committee .....	12 50
Balance on hand, January 1, 1900 .....	196 90
	<hr/>
	\$1,778 53 \$1,778 53

*LIBRARY ACCESSION ACCOUNT*

	Dr.	Cr.
To balance, January 1, 1909 .....	\$1,483 41	
Sale of duplicate books .....	83 83	
Interest from deposit in Western Saving Fund ..	52 50	
By accessions .....		\$195 06
Present balance .....		1,424 68
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$1,619 74	\$1,619 74

*LIBRARY MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT*

To balance, January 1, 1909 .....	\$85 26	
Interest from Wm. C. Cattell Endowment Fund ..	104 00	
By binding periodicals .....		100 20
Incidental expenses of clerk .....		12 50
Present balance .....		76 56
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$189 26	\$189 26

*SAMUEL AGNEW MEMORIAL LIBRARY ACCOUNT*

To balance, January 1, 1909 .....	\$88 70	
By accessions .....		\$52 71
Binding and labels .....		10 00
Present balance .....		25 99
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$88 70	\$88 70

*MUSEUM AND GALLERY ACCESSION ACCOUNT*

To balance, January 1, 1909 .....	\$162 61	
Sale of duplicate pictures .....	5 00	
By accessions .....		\$64 25
Present balance .....		103 36
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$167 61	\$167 61

*MUSEUM AND GALLERY MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT*

To balance, January 1, 1909 .....	\$63 20	
Interest from James Latta Endowment Account ..	40 00	
By present balance .....		\$103 20
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$103 20	\$103 20

*MUSEUM AND GALLERY EQUIPMENT ACCOUNT*

To balance, January 1, 1909 .....	\$182 55	
By mounting tokens .....		\$80 80
Present balance .....		101 75
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$182 55	\$182 55

*MAKEMIE MONUMENT MAINTENANCE ACCOUNT*

To balance, January 1, 1909 .....	\$30 56	
Interest from Makemie Monument Maintenance Fund .....	50 00	
By present balance .....		\$80 56
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$80 56	\$80 56

## SUMMARY OF PRESENT CASH BALANCES:

Endowment Account .....	\$880 28
Current Expense Account .....	196 90
Library Accession Account .....	1,424 68
Library Maintenance Account .....	76 56
Samuel Agnew Memorial Library Account .....	25 99
Museum and Gallery Accession Account .....	103 36
Museum and Gallery Maintenance Account .....	103 20
Museum and Gallery Equipment Account .....	101 75
Makemie Monument Maintenance Account .....	80 56
	<hr/>
Total .....	\$2,993 28

All of which is respectfully submitted.

DE BENNEVILLE K. LUDWIG.

January 13, 1910.

The report was received, and in accordance with the By-Laws, was referred to the Finance Committee for audit.

The report of the Auditing Committee is as follows:

The foregoing account was compared with the vouchers and found

correct. The securities on hand representing invested funds correspond with the investments for which credit is claimed in the account.

A. CHARLES BARCLAY,  
GEORGE A. LYON,  
*Finance Committee.*

The report of the Treasurer was ordered to be printed in the JOURNAL, and the thanks of the Society were extended to the Treasurer by a rising vote.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for 1910:

*President:*

REV. HENRY C. MCCOOK, D. D., Sc. D., LL. D.

*Vice Presidents:*

REV. JAMES CRAWFORD, D. D.  
REV. HENRY VAN DYKE, D. D., LL. D.

*Honorary Directors:*

MR. CHARLES B. ADAMSON,	MR. ROBERT C. OGDEN,
JOHN H. CONVERSE, LL. D.	MR. WILLIAM H. SCOTT,
MR. WILLIAM J. LATTI,	MR. THOMAS W. SYNNOTT,
MR. WILLIAM J. McCAHAN,	MR. ALEXANDER VAN RENSSELAER.

*Corresponding Secretary:*

REV. CHARLES R. WATSON, D. D.

*Recording Secretary:*

REV. WALTER A. BROOKS, D. D.

*Honorary Librarian:*

REV. LOUIS F. BENSON, D. D.

*Treasurer:*

DE BENNEVILLE K. LUDWIG, PH. D.

*Curator of Gallery and Museum:*

ALFRED PERCIVAL SMITH, Esq.

*Executive Council:*MR. WILLIAM H. SCOTT, *Chairman.*

REV. B. L. AGNEW, D. D., LL. D.,	REV. JAMES I. GOOD, D. D.,
LUCIEN H. ALEXANDER, Esq.,	REV. LOYAL Y. GRAHAM, D. D.,
MR. A. CHARLES BARCLAY,	MR. T. WILSON HEDLEY,
REV. THOMAS R. BEEBER, D. D.,	REV. EDWARD YATES HILL, D. D.
REV. LOUIS F. BENSON, D. D.,	REV. FRED. W. LOETSCHER, PH. D.,
REV. JAMES Y. BOICE, D. D.,	DE BENNEVILLE K. LUDWIG, PH. D.,
REV. FREDERIC R. BRACE, D. D.,	REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE A. LYON,
REV. WALTER A. BROOKS, D. D.,	REV. HENRY C. MCCOOK, D. D.,
REV. JOHN CALHOUN, D. D.,	REV. H. C. MINTON, D. D., LL. D.,
REV. CHARLES S. CLELAND, D. D.,	REV. JOHN H. MUNRO, D. D.,
MR. CLARKSON CLOTHIER,	REV. WM. HENRY OXTOBY, D. D.,
REV. J. W. COCHRAN, D. D.,	ALFRED PERCIVAL SMITH, Esq.,
REV. JAMES CRAWFORD, D. D.,	MR. ALLAN SUTHERLAND,
REV. WILLIAM P. FINNEY,	MR. THOMAS W. SYNNOTT,
REV. CHARLES R. WATSON, D. D.	

*Solicitor:*

J. CLAUDE BEDFORD, Esq.

*Local Chairmen:*

REV. DR. JOSEPH H. DUBBS, of Lancaster, Pa.  
 REV. DR. E. T. CORWIN, of North Branch, N. J.  
 REV. DR. WM. J. HINKE, of Auburn, N. Y.  
 REV. WILLIAM R. HUSTON, of Clifton Heights, Pa.  
 REV. DR. SAMUEL A. MARTIN, of Shippensburg, Pa.

The President, the Rev. Dr. Henry C. McCook, delivered an address upon the work and the present needs of the Society, and announced the proposed retirement of the Rev. Dr. Louis F. Benson from the position of editor of the JOURNAL.

The Meetings Committee announced that the annual sermon before the Society would be preached by the Rev. Henry Alford Boggs, in the Princeton Church, Philadelphia, on February 20th, 1910, and that the President, the Rev. Dr. Henry C. McCook would preside.

The Society adjourned with the benediction, pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Beeber.

WALTER A. BROOKS,  
 Recording Secretary.

## EDITORIAL

### THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND.

“The dedication of the historic Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, St. Andrews, commonly called the Town Church, took place on Tuesday after restoration. The cost has been about £22,000, apart from the cost of a fine organ and several stained-glass windows. The aim has been to restore the building, as far as possible, to its original state. The south porch has been rebuilt in memory of John Knox, who preached his first sermon here. The church now seats 1,885 persons. The floor is of Iona green and white marble. The large octagonal pulpit is of Iona moss-green marble, alabaster, and richly carved onyx with carved and traceried panels. It has been erected as a memorial to Dr. Boyd, ‘A.K.H.B.,’ who was minister of the parish from 1865 to 1899.

“During the ceremony the shops of the city and several of the schools were closed. The Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, and the principal and professors of the University, attended in their official capacity, and there was a large and representative gathering of clergy and laymen from all parts of Scotland. The services were conducted by the Rev. Patrick M. Playfair and the Rev. W. Leathem, ministers of the parish, and the Rev. J. W. Robinson, of Anstruther, moderator of the Presbytery. The sermon was preached by the Rev. James Robertson, D. D., Whittinghame, Moderator of the General Assembly.”

The above notice appeared in *The British Weekly* for December 2, 1909, within a few weeks of the date, it may be remarked in passing, at which its accomplished editor, the Rev. Dr. Robertson Nichol, had been knighted by the king. And the notice here quoted comprises all the information the JOURNAL has upon a subject which deeply interests it.

And the question arises, if it might not well be regarded as of interest to all Americans of the Reformed faith; as a welcome note of progress not so much in a foreign church as in *our* church, the Presbyterian Church. We might indeed well pause to inquire why American Presbyterianism seems so little conscious of its kinship with the Reformed Churches of France and Germany and Holland and Scotland; why indeed it persists in being so provincial. Presbyterianism should not stand for provincialism in religion. We see no



adequate reason why Prelacy should be a tie that links the centuries and a bond of union that bridges the ocean, while Presbytery implies a breach of historical continuity and becomes a badge of provincialism rather than of communion. The JOURNAL for its part believes in a Presbyterianism that has a common root in the Roman Empire, and that spreads its living branches world-wide. It does not believe in an American Presbyterianism that is disconnected from the parent stem, nor in a treatment of the history of the American branches that is indifferent to that connection, or unmindful of Presbyterian catholicity. The JOURNAL is therefore almost as much interested in the present day movement to restore the historic glories of ancient Scottish churches, as it would be in a movement (which God hasten) to preserve the few historic Presbyterian churches of America that still remain.

But in regard to the ancient Church of the Holy Trinity at St. Andrews, we confess to an interest more tender because more personal. There must be many still living whose memories go back to the original appearance of *The Recreations of a Country Parson*, the first series, and the second, in comely sixteenmo volumes with the imprint (in this country) of Ticknor and Fields, and then, soon afterward of the *Leisure Hours in Town*. Alas, they begin to appear with suggestive frequency upon the ten cent stalls outside the old book shops in mute testimony that most of those who cared for them are dead. Our own copies of these early books of A. K. H. B. are those we knew in boyhood, and are now ours by inheritance; and the hands that first held them have long been still. But neither the lapse of time nor the uplifted brows of gifted critics have ever broken the spell which that hard-working Scottish parson, with his caustic good nature, and his generous egotism, laid upon our youthful spirit. There was a portrait in the *Leisure Hours*. It showed a head nearly as bald as human head could be, and to our inexperience seeming very venerable indeed. But he was as yet not even minister of the Town Church of St. Andrews. All his career in that capacity, and the long line of essays and sermons and autobiography, were yet to come. And it is not as the Country Par-

son, but as incumbent of the venerable parish church at St. Andrews that his figure and personality now rises before us; always himself and always conscious of himself; suspicious of anything like pretension and yet aching for recognition; a patriotic Scotchman with an eye across the border; a real Presbyterian with a constitutional fondness for bishops and ornate worship and ecclesiastical pomp; on the whole, a narrow and broad, crabbed and genial, and decidedly lovable figure of a Scottish parson. He had in life his enemies; to all of whom he has affixed labels for purposes of identification. But he lived most of them down. He was a churchman of a new type, and a type for which, when Dr. Boyd was young, Scotland had but little use. Starting out as an innovator more or less under suspicion, he was at length made Moderator of the General Assembly; and his last years (they were years of deep sorrow) were brightened by the comfortable conviction of his right to be always addressed as "The Very Reverend." If the ancient Church of Scotland is beginning to present a fairer front to the eyes of men, there is no man who contributed more than he toward softening the rugged lines of the old Establishment into something of grace and beauty.

A good man; and he has so fully revealed himself, his whims and ambitions, his household and his parish, that we know him perhaps better than any man of his generation, and we discern faults enough to convince us that he was human, and to make us at ease in his company. The world is better and brighter because he lived in it. In his pastoral ministrations he spent himself freely (we have his word for it), and in his writings he reached and comforted and counseled innumerable souls who found in him the helper they needed. Not a great mind, but a very bright and ready one, and a tender heart, encased in nerves; a writer with an outlook on life all his own, and with a style quite inimitable. And it is questionable whether anyone survived him who enjoys going to church quite as much as he did.

How he gloried in the Town Church, its history, its size, its architecture—and the distinguished dignitaries who came

to visit it! Is there any aspect of it, from within, from without, from the pulpit, from the pews, that he has not portrayed for us? But most often we think of it and of him when the afternoon sun is falling through the great western window upon the red pulpit cloth and upon the white arm of the Archbishop's statue kneeling above his tomb. To preach in Knox's pulpit, that indeed is something; but then to have the Archbishop too!

How he loved the old church! But how his inmost soul loathed the alterations and displacements that an earlier generation had perpetrated in the interests of hardheaded utilitarianism, the removal of the pillars where the recesses seemed dark, the intrusion of galleries, and all the other barbarities of an unæsthetic period! How he longed for the means and the spirit of restoration and the recovery of the pristine glory!

And now the restoration has come, but poor Boyd is gone. One likes to fancy that the restorations were made upon the lines he foresaw and used even to plan. And if so, the JOURNAL ventures to hope that the spirit of A. K. H. B. may be permitted to visit the scene of his earthly labors and longings.

## RECORD OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY

**HISTORIC SKETCH OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTH CAROLINA.** *By a Board of Editors under of the Classis of North Carolina. With an Introduction by the late Geo. Wm. Welker, D. D., Philadelphia, Pa., Publication Board of the Reformed Church in the United States. [1908]. 12mo, pp. 327; cloth.*

The history of the Reformed Church in the South has been much enriched by the publication of this volume. Thus far our knowledge of the Reformed churches in North Carolina depended upon two brief sketches by the Rev. Dr. Welker. The first was published in 1895 under the title, "A Historical Sketch of the Classis of North Carolina," Hickory, N. C., 1895, pp. 35. The second is entitled, "Early German Reformed Settlers in North Carolina," and is published in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. VIII, pp. 727-757.

The volume under review gives us a fairly complete account of all the fifty-five Reformed congregations now in existence in North Carolina. The book is divided into six chapters. The first gives a general account of the Reformed settlements in North Carolina. It is taken from Dr. Welker's Sketch in the *Colonial Records*. Unfortunately its statements are so general that they give us no definite facts. It would have been better if a summary had been written on the basis of the book itself. The second chapter traces the history from the first evidences of church life to the organization of the Classis of North Carolina in 1831. The third chapter presents a history of the Classis, showing through what stirring events she passed and how varied her activities have been. The last three chapters give a detailed history of the various congregations, arranged in three groups, the eastern, central and western group.

There can be no doubt that the Editorial Committee, through whose efforts and under whose supervision the book was published, made strenuous efforts to collect the historical data and to present a readable account of the history. Their efforts have been largely successful. There are but two points with regard to which the book may be criticised. In the first place, it presents very little tangible evidence, upon which the history is built. There are comparatively few instances, where historical records are quoted. When they do occur, they had already been published elsewhere. From a historical point of view it would have been most desirable to test the accuracy of the more important statements by

a reference to the authorities upon which they were made. The almost total absence of original documents seems to go back ultimately to a wrong conception of what actually constitutes history. Some people seem to think that if they make a number of statements about events a hundred or more years ago, and if they put these statements in print they must be regarded by everybody as reliable history. They forget that history, in the strict sense of the word, is the record of eyewitnesses, or must at least be based on such a record. Wherever this is not the case it is not history but tradition, or even worse. Now there can be no question that a number of statements in the "Historic Sketch" belong to the category of tradition, without any intimation being given to the reader that this is really the case.

This leads us to the second defect. The beginnings of the history of the North Carolina churches are left in the same uncertain haze in which they were before. This may not be the fault of the editors of the book. Time may have obliterated all traces of the earliest period. Whether any efforts were made to secure tangible evidence for the earliest period, or whether such evidence is still in existence, the book does not reveal, so much is certain that as far as the early pastors are concerned the same statements are repeated, without apparent investigation, that were made by Dr. Harbaugh nearly fifty years ago (see *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. II, p. 384). These statements were traditions pure and simple. What the historical student of the Reformed Church would like to know is, what contemporaneous evidence is there that the Rev. Mr. Martin preached to the Reformed churches of North Carolina from 1759-1764? That the Rev. Mr. Dupert, whose original name is said (p. 255) to have been De Part (on what authority?), was a Huguenot minister, and that he lived "near Paysower's Mill in what is now Gaston County" (p. 245). That there was a Rev. Mr. Penager (p. 26), whose name has never been mentioned before, and also a Rev. Mr. Schwum (pp. 27, 245)? Thus far these names are nothing but mere sounds. No contemporaneous documents have been presented on which their names are found. If it is possible to connect certain years with their preaching, there ought to be records, in which these facts are stated. If they depend entirely on tradition, the years at least may be safely disregarded.

How necessary it is in every case to go back to original documents may be illustrated by a single example, the history of the Rev. Andrew Loretz, given on pp. 255-262. It is based on the sketch of Dr. Welker in the Colonial Records. According to Dr. Welker, Mr. Loretz received his education in Kaufbeuren, Bavaria. This is evidently based on Mr. Loretz's autograph album, which he opened at Kaufbeuren with a prefatory statement on May 6, 1779. Autographs of friends show that he stayed in Kaufbeuren at least till June 7, 1783 (see Dr. Good's *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, p. 692). But there is no evidence that he attended school at that place. Then we are told (p. 256) that at the age of twenty-two he completed a thorough theological

course. Neither Dr. Welker nor any other historian knows anything about this, and, as no new documents have come to light, it is a mere inference, due to a fertile imagination. The history becomes still more legendary when we are told (p. 256) that the Rev. John Jacob Kessler, Deputy of the Classis of Amsterdam, solicited him to come over to America, where he landed on the 17th of August, 1784, at Baltimore, accompanied by his father; also by the Rev. Bernhard F. Willy and the Rev. Paul Peter Pernisius. Every one of these statements is clearly wrong. They are not even tradition. For (1) the Rev. J. J. Kessler corresponded not with Andrew Loretz, Jr., but with his father, who had the same name, Andrew Loretz. (2) Andrew Loretz, Jr., did not arrive in Baltimore in August, 1784, because his passport is dated Chur (Switzerland), September 8, 1784. (3) This passport (a photographic copy of which lies before me) states that he left Chur for Amsterdam not as a minister, but "in Handlungs Geschäften," i. e., for commercial purposes. (4) He did not go with his father, who appeared before the Classical Commissioners, September 14, 1784, and who sailed the same week for Baltimore, where he arrived December 21, 1784 (see Dr. Good's *History*, p. 630f), but he must have followed him, as there are entries in his autograph album made at Chur up to September 10, 1784. (5) The records of the Baltimore congregation show that only Andrew Loretz, Sr., and B. Willy arrived there on December 21, 1784. Pernisius must have come earlier and by a different route. (6) The first evidence of Andrew Loretz, Jr., in America appears on June 12, 1786, when John Reily placed his autograph in Loretz's album at Meyerstown. But again there is no evidence that Andrew Loretz, Jr., preached in or near Meyerstown, Pa. (7) The letter of Mr. Kessler, quoted on p. 256, refers not to the younger but to the older Loretz.

This single case shows plainly how necessary it is for a historian to hold his imagination in check, and how imperative to confine himself strictly to the evidence of the records before him.

The value of the "Historic Sketch" is considerably increased by thirteen half-tone illustrations.

W. J. H.

*PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY: Biographical Catalogue: 1909. Compiled by Joseph H. Dulles, Librarian of the Seminary, Trenton, N. J., MacCrellish & Quigley, Printers, Opposite Post Office: 1909. 8vo, pp. 661; cloth.*

Few books in the library of The Presbyterian Historical Society have been more frequently consulted in the last ten years than *Princeton Theological Seminary, General Catalogue, 1894*. That catalogue was

prepared by the Rev. Joseph Heatly Dulles, Librarian of the Seminary. And it is a satisfaction to find that the new catalogue is prepared by the same hands and brain. We say "hands and brain" advisedly. Only one who has had experience can understand the immense labor of correspondence, compilation, editorial supervision, preparation of manuscript, and proof-reading, involved in such a production; only he can sympathize with the wear of brain expended in the discovery of facts and the unending struggle for accuracy. No editor comes out of that struggle an absolute victor. But Mr. Dulles has already vindicated his trustworthiness. He has even retained his sense of humor, remarking in a note concerning this catalogue in *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* for November, 1909: "It is a large volume of 662 pages, and is distinctly different from previous General Catalogues in several respects. Corrections will be welcome, at least they will be received in a Christian spirit, and kept for future use."

There have been 5,674 enrolled students of the Seminary, of whom 3,062 are still alive. No one of the 3,062 will enjoy the skeleton biography of himself contained in this volume, or find it a fitting chronicle of his ideals and his achievements. But each of the 3,062 can find here a most convenient and accurate summary of the careers of the 5,673 other enrolled students, excepting the "unknown" and "those who have disappeared from view."

Mr. Dulles had in view, not a "Who's Who" of Princeton Seminary, but rather an extremely condensed educational and professional biography of its students, arranged class by class under the year of graduation. He includes also lists of the Directors, Trustees, Faculty, Officers and Lecturers from the foundation of the Seminary to the present. And there is a full index of names. The present catalogue is not only thus brought down to date, but there is also a reconstruction of the earlier materials according to a new method of indicating the classes, which adds materially to the comfort of one consulting the catalogue.

*SOME RECORDS of Sussex County, Delaware. Compiled by C. H. B. Turner, Lewes, Delaware. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1909. 8vo, pp. 387; cloth.*

In publishing these valuable records the reverend compiler has done his share toward removing the reproach made against the State of Delaware that it has failed to put into print adequate materials upon which its history might be based. The records here gathered embrace court, ecclesiastical, miscellaneous and family Bible records within the original boundaries of Sussex County. The specifically Presbyterian part of the ecclesiastical records is small, but the Presbyterian student is likely to find materials in any part of this excellent volume. The picture of the old Presbyterian Church at Lewes, 1727, is delightful.

**CYRUS HALL McCORMICK: his Life and Work.** By Herbert N. Casson, author of "*The Romance of Steel*," "*The Romance of the Reaper*," etc. Illustrated. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1909. 8vo, pp. xii, 264; cloth.

We are glad that a readable and effective biography of Mr. McCormick has been written. It is of course primarily the story of the life of the great upbuilder of the business of manufacturing farm machinery, typical of modern American conditions, typical also of a great and strong personality. Not the least interesting part of this biography is the chapter showing how his religious faith went into his business. Mr. McCormick's services as a Presbyterian churchman are almost as well known as his business successes. The McCormick Theological Seminary and *The Interior* are permanent memorials of his devotion to the Presbyterian Church.

**THE PATH SHE TROD. A Memorial of Mary Brunette (Foster) Nassau, by her Husband.** Philadelphia: Press of Allen, Lane & Scott, 1211-1213 Clover Street, 1909. 8vo, pp. 205; cloth.

This memorial of Mrs. Nassau is of a tender and personal type, in which her husband has endeavored not so much to relate what she was and did, as to let her reveal her inmost self in her letters, diaries and other writings. Incidentally the book also throws much light on the daily life of a missionary family in Africa.

**HISTORY of First Presbyterian Church of West Chester, Pa.** Written and compiled by Rev. Washington R. Laird, Ph. D. West Chester: Village Record Print, 1909. 8vo, pp. 88; cloth.

Presbyterian services were begun in West Chester as early as 1790. But the formal church organization was postponed until 1834. This neat volume covers the history of the whole period as far as known, and more fully the seventy-five years of the organized church. Dr. Laird acknowledges his use of material in a historical sermon preached in 1876 by his predecessor, Dr. William E. Moore, but he has added much on his own account, and produced a history of permanent value.

**IN MEMORIAM: DAVID MACK COOPER.** Born April 18, 1827, in Detroit, Mich.; Pastor in Saginaw, 1851-



*1859; Pastor in Grand Haven, 1859-1864; Pastor in Albion, 1866-1876; Pastor Memorial Presbyterian Church, Detroit, 1880-1897; Pastor Emeritus Memorial Presbyterian Church, Detroit, 1897-1908; Died August 28, 1908, in Detroit, Mich. N. p., n. d. [1909]. 8vo, pp. 35; stitched.*

Dr. Cooper's career is outlined in the title of this pamphlet, and in its pages his memory is honored by affectionate tributes from various sources. These, or some of them, were delivered at a memorial service held in September of 1908, in the church of which Dr. Cooper was pastor emeritus.

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## NOTES.

### COMMUNION VESSELS.

The pewter communion vessels pictured in the frontispiece of this number are specimens selected from those in the Museum and Gallery of The Presbyterian Historical Society. The chalices and patens are from the Neshaminy Presbyterian Church of Warwick (Pa.), and were used there early in the nineteenth century. And so are the two large platters which we judge to be alms dishes, such as were placed at the ends of the communion table to receive the gifts of approaching communicants. The Neshaminy pewter was deposited by Mrs. D. K. Turner of Hartsville. The communion flagon was deposited by Mr. Homer Lee of New York City, who has been informed by a relative that it came from Leesville Cross Roads, Ohio, a hamlet named for his grandfather, the Rev. Robert Lee, who took this flagon and two chalices from Pennsylvania. He is said to have received them from the Rev. John McMillan; a tradition which can hardly be verified.

### THE CHURCH GRAVEYARD.

Around many of the old churches of Washington county are found graveyards which are in a deplorable condition. Some of them have been used for considerably more than one hundred years. They often present an unsightly appearance and are evidently sadly neglected. Their desecration through neglect alone is a subject of mournful observation.

A few days ago the writer visited the old graveyard at the North Buffalo United Presbyterian church. It is located in Buffalo township, about six miles northwest of Washington. It is in a region settled by a sturdy Christian people one hundred and thirty or more years ago. It was long known as French's Church, called in honor of a pastor who faithfully served its people for many years. In the early days of its

history, Rev. Matthew Henderson, a contemporary of Dr. John McMillen, had charge of this flock.

This church, therefore, has an interesting history running back to the very planting of civilization in this county. It has a beautiful location on the summit of Buffalo ridge and the church building itself is a solid brick structure. It is a pleasure to visit such a place and recall the history of the good men and women who braved the hardships of the wilderness and laid the foundations of Christian civilization in this community.

But this pleasure is tempered when one sees the neglected condition of parts of this old burying ground. True, it has a substantial fence around it, it is kept free of weeds and briars and many of the family lots evidently received careful attention. On the other hand, many stones have fallen down or the inscriptions upon them are becoming illegible.

The length of time this old burial ground has been in use is shown by the inscriptions on some of the older stones, which record the death of persons occurring more than one hundred years ago. That pioneers here sleep the long sleep is proven by one inscription which is clearly legible. It reads: "In memory of David Irwin, who departed this life March 20, A. D., 1809, aged eighty years; settled in Washington Co., Pa., in 1779, where he remained until his death, a period of thirty years."

Among the other names upon the tombstones of this graveyard were noted the following: Shearer, Graham, Leet, McClay, Dryden, Hagerty, Reed, Gabby, Maxwell, Baldwin, Cox, Bigham, McConaughy, Mustard, Rodgers, McCutchin, Woodburn, Wylie, Humphreys, Hutchinson, Willard, Henderson, Allison, Brownlee, Kerr, Knox, Neely, Wright, Barr, Hanna, Robertson, Donaldson, Mitchell, Morris, Leeper, Black, Logan, Clark, Houston, Wilson, Paxton, Roney, Smiley, Buchanan, Laurence, Lawrence, Pogue, Gregg, Mahaffey.

While many of these names are still well known in the community, others have disappeared. These families may have representation among us yet through their daughters who lost the old patronymic through intermarriage. Many of the best families now residing in Washington county have ancestors buried in this sacred spot. It should be a pleasure and satisfaction to them to put it in perfect condition and provide for its perpetual care.

That can be done by securing a charter of incorporation, raising a fund for the resetting of all stones and the marking of all known graves and putting a sufficient sum at interest to guarantee an ample income for its preservation in the future.

This has been done in other places. Attached to the old Grove United Presbyterian church at West Middletown is a burying ground which, like North Buffalo, has a magnificent location, but was for years much neglected. A few public-spirited men in the community under-

took to redeem this sacred spot and make provision for its future maintenance.

Among the descendants of those who had there found a final resting place they raised about \$2,300. Every stone which needed attention was firmly reset and inscriptions renewed. Old citizens were called upon to locate graves at which no headstone had been placed, and simple markers were there erected.

After this work had been finished about \$1,700 remained, which was made the nucleus for a fund for the perpetual care of the old graveyard. It will be added to from time to time by those interested. It is estimated that the interest on this sum will keep this old burying ground in good repair.

Those interested in the graveyard attached to the North Buffalo church and at other old churches of the county should adopt this plan and thus furnish a guarantee that the foot of unhallowed intrusion shall not hereafter profane the sanctity of this place of sepulture.

These quiet, rural cemeteries, if they afford assurance of undisturbed security, will continue to be places of interment and historic interest.

—From the *Washington Reporter*.

#### FIVE NOBLE PRESBYTERIANS.

*To the Editor of THE CHURCHMAN:*

It has seldom happened that five leading members of a great religious body are taken away within a brief space. Within about five years, William E. Dodge, D. Willis James, Morris K. Jesup, John Crosby Brown and John S. Kennedy, all have departed from among men. I have worked with them all on campaign committees and in reform movements, and can truly say that I never knew men who in life and character manifested a more remarkable combination of steady, determined, invincible resolution, with sanity and good temper. They gave to public affairs the same good judgment that regulated their private business. They were all rich in this world's goods, and were ever mindful of St. Paul's charge "to trust in the living God" and not in uncertain riches. They were all "rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate."

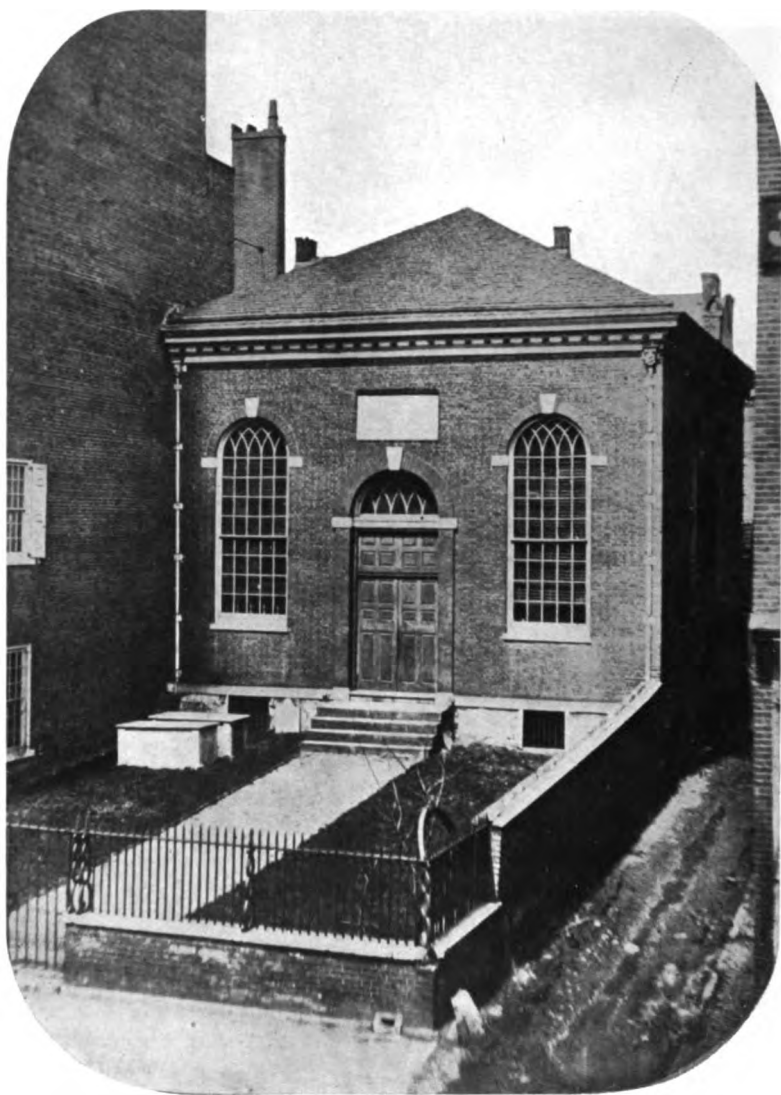
Bishop Potter told me that the first serious proposal to build a dignified cathedral, and one of the first large contributions for that purpose, came from Mr. James.

As we remember how faithful these men were, and how clearly they manifested in daily life the spirit of Christ, we must more than ever have faith in "the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints."

EVERETT P. WHEELER.

From *The Churchman*, November 27, 1909.





**ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,**

**WALNUT STREET,—PHILADELPHIA.**

**Built, A. D. 1790.**

**Taken down, A. D. 1854.**

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### THE NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES AND THE FIRST PRESBYTERY.

BY WILLIAM H. ROBERTS, D.D., LL.D.

It is important in connection with the subject of the New England Churches and the First Presbytery, to understand that there was a mutual fellowship and frequent correspondence between many of the Congregational ministers of New England and the ministers who organized the First Presbytery in Philadelphia, Pa., of the Presbyterian Church in America, in 1706, prior to, at the time of, and after its establishment. This fellowship and correspondence were based upon the acceptance of a common faith, and the recognition by Congregationalists of the large element in the New England Puritan ministry and churches which held to Presbyterian views in church government. The nature and influence of the resulting relationships upon the development of early American Presbyterianism is of importance in connection with Presbyterian history, and will be considered under two main heads:

#### 1. THE SITUATION IN NEW ENGLAND.

The New England churches were, theologically, churches holding to the Westminster Confession of Faith as their standard of doctrine. That Confession was adopted by them in 1648, at the Synod held in Cambridge, Mass., and was re-

affirmed with slight modifications in another Synod held at the same place, in 1680. Similar action was taken by the churches of Connecticut, at Saybrook, in 1708. So general was the acceptance of this Confession that Cotton Mather, in his *Ratio Disciplina*, published in 1726, writes: <sup>1</sup>

“There is no need of Reporting what is the *Faith* professed by the Churches in *New England*; For every one knows, That they perfectly adhere to the CONFESSION OF FAITH published by the *Assembly* of Divines at *Westminster*, and afterwards renewed by the *Synod* at the *Savoy*; And received by the Renowned *Kirk* of *Scotland*. . . . I cannot learn, That among all the Pastors of Two Hundred Churches, there is one *Arminian*: much less an *Arian*, or a *Gentilist*.”

New England was at this period thoroughly Calvinistic in doctrine.

The governmental situation as to the churches in New England is one that requires to be considered, first from the Congregational standpoint. When the Puritan churches of that region adopted the Westminster Confession in 1648, they took exception to the chapters which dealt with church government. In place of said chapters, there came into existence what is known as the Cambridge Platform, first adopted in 1648 and reaffirmed by the Synod held in 1680. The approval of the Synod was unanimous for articles such as the four following, the first two contained in Chapter XVI of the Platform, and dealing with the civil magistrate:

“3. Magistrates have power to call a synod, by calling to the churches to send forth their elders and other messengers, to counsel, and assist them in matters of religion, etc.”

“4. It belongeth, unto synods and councils, to debate and determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience;” etc., etc.”

The other two articles are found in Chapter XVII, and read:

“8. Idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions, that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, profanation of the Lord’s day, disturbing the peaceable ad-

<sup>1</sup> Page 5.

<sup>2</sup> *A Platform of Church Discipline*, etc., ed. Boston, 1772, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 60.

ministration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like, are to be restrained and punished by Civil Authority."

"9. If any church, one or more shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word; in such case the magistrate (Josh. xxii) is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require."<sup>4</sup>

Many persons conceive of early Congregationalism in the light of its present twentieth century condition; when it is virtually a creedless denomination and one largely lacking in denominational authority. How different the situation was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, is shown by the following comments of a distinguished Congregational historian, upon the Synod of 1680:

"To the thinking of the Synod, Congregationalism was vastly less democratic than modern Congregational practice conceives the system to be. It was viewed as of exclusive divine authority, and as subject to the interference of the civil ruler, should its churches swerve in doctrine or administration from the God-given standard."<sup>5</sup>

Again:

"This Synod (1680), adopted the Cambridge Platform as well as the Westminster Confession, and was the completion of that movement toward confederation which characterized early American Congregationalism from the arrival of the Puritans, which was greatly strengthened by the establishment of Congregationalism as a State Church, and had its strongest impulse from the efforts of the civil and ecclesiastical forces of the new settlements to guard their institutions and faith from what they deemed dangerous encroachments."<sup>6</sup>

And again, the Commonwealths of Massachusetts and Connecticut, until the first part of the nineteenth century,

"maintained the principle that all persons should be taxed for the support of religious institutions, and that there was one standard polity and faith in each town or parish from which all others were dissenters."

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<sup>4</sup> *A Platform of Church Discipline*, etc., ed. Boston, 1772, p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> Walker, *Congregational Churches*, p. 162.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.



The ecclesiastical system of New England, let us understand clearly, at the time of the formation of the First Presbytery at Philadelphia, in 1706, was based upon the union of Church and State, and conformity both in faith and in church government to the standards approved, was capable of enforcement by the strong arm of the civil law. Within the Congregational churches of New England, in 1706, the civil authority was supreme for the punishment of heresy as well as of immorality, for the definition of orthodoxy as well as the limitation of church power.

As preliminary to the consideration of the Presbyterian situation in New England, it is to be noted that one fundamental mistake in connection with early American Ecclesiastical History is to take it for granted that because a church was organized by Puritans, or by New Englanders, that therefore, it was of necessity a Congregational church. The claim is in consequence often made that Puritan churches established in South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, New Jersey and New York, were in every case Congregational in government. Take as an illustration the churches organized early in the seventeenth century in the Colony of Virginia, and to which ministers from Massachusetts were sent. It is assumed that these churches were Congregational because they were Puritan, and yet they had Elders, and when the members were driven out of Virginia by persecution, and were reorganized as churches in Maryland, the churches were, in part, Presbyterian.<sup>7</sup> It is to be remembered that the great Puritan party in the Church of England was divided into two wings, the one holding to Presbyterian and the other to Independent views of church government. The sharp separation which developed in England as between these parties at the time of the establishment of the Church of England in its Presbyterian form in 1645, did not develop in the American Colonies until much later. Especially was this true in those colonies where the Puritans were comparatively few in number.

<sup>7</sup> Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 110, 111.

Passing from Virginia to New England, it is to be noted that Presbyterian ministers and churches constituted a considerable part of the body ecclesiastical. The Church at Plymouth (1630) was in reality a Presbyterian Church, with Brewster as its Ruling Elder. Its pastor, John Robinson, was inclined to Presbyterian views, and his church in Leyden was conformed to the order of the French Reformed Church.<sup>8</sup> Professor Walker states:

“Not all the founders thought alike on polity. At Newbury, Massachusetts, the pastor and teacher, Thomas Parker and James Noyes, were so far inclined toward Presbyterianism, that they did away with the participation of the ordinary membership in church acts save in ministerial election. At Hingham Rev. Peter Hobart was of the same opinion.”<sup>9</sup>

John Eliot, the first missionary to the Indians, published a book (1665) entitled, “The Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, constituted in order according to the Scriptures, which may be a means of uniting those two holy and eminent parties, the Presbyterian and the Congregational.”<sup>10</sup> In 1690 an Association of Ministers was formed in Massachusetts, which met annually thereafter at the college in Cambridge, including both Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and the Presbyterians were in sufficient numbers to require specific provision for their views in the so-called “Heads of Agreement,” adopted in London, in Old England, in 1691, and quickly accepted in New England. Referring to those “Heads,” Cotton Mather states: “The Presbyterian Ministers of this country do find it no difficulty to practice the substance of it, in and with their several congregations.”<sup>11</sup> New England Presbyterians were evidently not few in number.

<sup>8</sup> Prince, *Chronology*, pp. 114, 120.

<sup>9</sup> Walker, *Congregational Churches*, p. 161.

<sup>10</sup> Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, vol. 1, Hartford, 1853, p. 555.

<sup>11</sup> Mather, *Magnalia*, p. 272.

There was also the tendency among Congregationalists toward a centralized ecclesiasticism already referred to. But this was checked in a curious manner. In 1725, Cotton Mather and other New England ministers, under a feeling of need as to a greater care and thoroughness in discipline, petitioned the Civil Government for the calling of another Synod. The Episcopalians in the Colony, however, interfered, prevented the calling of the Synod, and the Congregational movement toward centralization came abruptly to an end. From the Synod at Cambridge in 1680, the Congregational churches of this country had no general convention, until one met at Albany in 1852. What gave promise in Massachusetts for an ecclesiasticism with something of denominational authority, thus came to an untimely end. The "development had gone to semi-Presbyterian lengths in Connecticut; it had nearly reached the same goal in Massachusetts."<sup>12</sup> Dexter joins with Walker in his conclusions as to the character of early Congregationalism, and speaks of it as a "Congregationalized Presbyterianism or a Presbyterianized Congregationalism which had its roots in the one system, and its branches in the other."<sup>13</sup>

Here it is proper to emphasize the fact that the churches of the Connecticut Colony were not in harmony with the independent or Congregational system of church government. They established, in 1709, at Saybrook, Connecticut, consociations of churches and associations of ministers. Their church government as already stated was at least semi-Presbyterian. Indeed, the Hartford North Association as late as 1799, declared by formal resolution that the constitution of the Connecticut churches contained "the essentials of the Church of Scotland or Presbyterian Church in America," and the General Association of Connecticut in 1805, called the Saybrook Platform, adopted in 1709, "The constitution of the Presbyterian Church in Connecticut." The sympathy between Connecticut and Philadelphia was natural, and led for more than a generation to an increasing

<sup>12</sup> Walker, *Congregational Churches*, p. 213.

<sup>13</sup> Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 463.

correspondence, until in 1766 the Presbyterian Synod and the General Association of Connecticut formed a General Convention for the defence of religious liberty.<sup>14</sup>

One feature of the Presbyterian church government was much emphasized by the New England Church during the seventeenth century. The office of Ruling Elder was established by the Puritans, in their attempt to restore the New Testament model of church government. The Cambridge Platform (1680), sets forth the duties of the Ruling Elder minutely in ten articles, the preamble to which reads: "The Ruling Elder's work is to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule which are distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments." Again, the Platform, Chapter VII, Section 1, states: "The Ruling Elder's office is distinct from the office of pastor and teacher." Cotton Mather<sup>15</sup> states that the Cambridge Association of Ministers passed by a unanimous vote the declaration that "Ruling Elders are appointed for the assistance of their pastors in the government of the church," and Mather himself is responsible for the following: "Let it first be recognized that all the other church officers are the assistants of the pastor. The pastor may be the Ruling Elder, and yet he may have Elders who assist him in ruling." Presbyterian principles of church government were held, to a very considerable extent, in the New England Colonial churches, and the number of Presbyterians in New England was so considerable that in much of public church action they were constantly recognized. Indeed, the Presbyterian churches of that section of the Colonies continued to grow in numbers and in influence until the Revolutionary War. In 1775, there was a Synod of New England, totally distinct from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, having three Presbyteries and about eighty congregations.<sup>16</sup> The evidence is clear that Presbyterians were always a considerable element in the population of New England, that their principles of

<sup>14</sup> *Minutes*, General Convention, 1766-75.

<sup>15</sup> Mather, *Magnalia*, p. 240.

<sup>16</sup> Blaikie, *Presbyterianism in New England*, pp. 168, 204.

polity were largely held, and that they were easily able of themselves to furnish both ministers and members for Presbyterian Churches in the Middle Colonies.

## 2. THE SITUATION AS TO THE FIRST PRESBYTERY.

One of the chief factors in connection with the organization of the First Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1706, has been supposed by many to have been a Congregational influence which tended to large liberty both as to creed and government. What has been said in the first part of this article is sufficient evidence that little in the way of liberty of belief or of practice for Presbyterians, had its origin with the Congregationalists in the Massachusetts or Connecticut Colonies. The fact is that the principal colony, in 1706, where the Presbyterian Church could be organized, first into a Presbytery and then into a Synod, without asking permission from the civil government, was the Province of Pennsylvania. As already shown, when the Congregationalists of Massachusetts twenty years later (1726), desired to hold a Synod, they were prevented by the civil power. It was chiefly in the Quaker Colony that true religious liberty prevailed, and that an open door was found for the Presbyterian Church. Further, in this connection, it is to be emphasized that both in Scotland and Ireland, there was at the date of the organization of the First Presbytery, just as strenuous an insistence upon the union of Church and State, and upon authoritative creeds, as there was in New England. It will not do to account for the Presbyterian Church as it came into denominational form in Philadelphia, by reference to the then existing ecclesiasticisms, either in Great Britain or New England.

Reference, however, despite the facts now stated is persistently made to the idea that there must have been some New England Congregational influence in the First Presbytery and the General Synod, which was necessarily antagonistic to the Scotch and Irish influence. On this point the opinion of Gillette is quoted:

"The argument for the Scotticism of the original Presbytery, drawn from the presumption that, if any considerable New England element was in union with it, it would have manifested itself in a form of government more or less allied to Congregationalism, is utterly invalid. The early ecclesiasticism of New England was largely Presbyterian." "

It is distinctly affirmed that American Presbyterianism was organized neither on the so-called "strict, rigid and exclusive Scotch system," nor on the similar New England Congregational basis. The tolerant character of American Presbyterianism was in direct contrast with the Church Government organized in Massachusetts and Connecticut. For instance, in 1637 the Rev. Francis Doughty was expelled from the Massachusetts Colony because of his views as to church membership, and as late as 1743 Rev. Samuel Finley, afterwards President of Princeton College, was expelled from Connecticut because he dared to preach the Gospel without permission from the civil authorities, who had passed an offensive law aimed at the ministers engaged in the great revival under George Whitefield. The Rev. Elizur Goodrich, of Connecticut, writing at the time of the War for American Independence, states:

"It is certain that for a considerable time there was too much of a coercive uniformity in the laws of the Colony, but this by degrees disappears. Those laws which were inconsistent with freedom of thought and liberty of conscience are either wholly repealed and set aside, or so modeled that no one can be oppressed by them."

This change of attitude in Connecticut and other New England colonies was in part due to Presbyterian influence.

But whatever of Presbyterian views prevailed in New England or elsewhere, all the Puritans sought often to cooperate with one another. This is the reason why Philadelphia Presbyterians in their early days of financial weakness looked to the wealthier New England churches for assistance. Many Congregationalists and Presbyterians recognized one another as brethren in Christ, as standing for a common faith, and as all seeking the establishment of the kingdom

" Gillette, *Hist. Presb. Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

of God in the Colonies. They were not as diverse in their views of church government as are their descendants. So closely were they allied that Gillette states accurately the situation when he declares that,

“Mather and the ‘New England Doctors’ would have acted a part unworthy of themselves if they had lacked active sympathy with Presbyterians in the neighboring colonies. If they could have modeled their own churches anew, they would have secured them the advantages of Synods and ruling elders.”<sup>18</sup>

In connection with the history of early Presbyterianism in the city of Philadelphia, the question is sometimes raised as to the ecclesiastical views of the Rev. Jedidiah Andrews, the first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and one of the leaders of the First Presbytery. The following facts are worthy of consideration in the answer to this inquiry. Mr. Andrews was born in Hingham, Mass. The pastor of the church in that town, the Rev. Peter Hobart, is recognized by Cotton Mather and Professor Walker, as having been a Presbyterian. It was under the influence of Hobart that Andrews was trained as a lad, and Andrews’ mother was living at Hingham in 1730, as shown by a letter of his, dated in October of that year. Mr. Andrews appears to have been ordained by Presbyterian ministers in Philadelphia in 1701.

The Episcopal missionary, Talbot, in a letter dated in 1703, written from Philadelphia, said: “The Presbyterians here come a great way to lay hands on one another”; and Clayton, the First Church of England minister in the city, also said of Andrews (in 1698), “I have often talked with the Presbyterian minister.”<sup>19</sup> Andrews was an organizing member of the First Presbytery, was Moderator for the first time in 1709, and took thereafter an increasingly prominent part in the work of the church, both in Presbytery and Synod. He was present in Presbytery in 1714, when the order as to assistants and session books, hereafter referred to, was passed, and no negative vote is recorded. He was not among those

<sup>18</sup> Gillette, Vol. I, p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 125.

who protested against the Act for Overtures in 1721, and he was a member of the committee which reported upon the matter of the adoption of the Confession of Faith in 1729. In his letter of 1730, above referred to, there is a paragraph referring to the immigrants from Ireland which is pertinent. It reads:

“Besides divers new congregations that are forming by these *new-comers*, we all call ourselves *Presbyterians*, none pretending to be called *Congregationalists* in this province. In the Jerseys there are some Congregational Assemblies—that is, some of the people are inclined that way, being originally of New England—yet they all submit to our Presbyteries readily enough; and the ministers are all Presbyterians, though mostly from New England.”<sup>a</sup>

Nowhere in all Andrews' record, so far as known, is there anything to show that he was other than a Presbyterian.

There is also at times the statement made that early Presbyterian congregations in Philadelphia were governed by “Committeemen,” meaning by that, Congregational Committeemen, the basis of the allegation being the absence of early sessional records for the Philadelphia First Church. The Third Church Records, however, contain information of importance upon this matter. In 1767 a meeting was held to organize the Third Church, and the first resolution adopted provides for Committeemen to “transact all the secular business of the body.” The Committeemen were evidently the officers now known as Trustees. The third resolution adopted by the Third Church meeting, is decisive as to the then existing form of church government in Philadelphia Presbyterian Congregations, for it reads:

“The Third Congregation shall be governed like the other Presbyterian Congregations in this city, by their own Session and Committee to be chosen out of the members of the said Congregation.”<sup>a</sup>

These words are clear in their attestation of the existence of sessions for many years previous to 1767, in both the First and Second Churches of Philadelphia.

<sup>a</sup> Barnes, *Manual: First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia*, p. 11.

<sup>a</sup> Gibbons, *Old Pine Street*, p. 31.



Much has been made in connection with the First Presbytery, of the "Heads of Agreement" adopted in London in 1691, and resulting in the body called the "United Ministers formerly known as Presbyterian and Congregational." That organization was a most worthy effort to bring about a practical union of the two great parties of the English Puritans. There is no historical basis, however, for the averment that the Ministers from Great Britain who were secured by Mr. Makemie and others for the Presbytery of Philadelphia, were expected to labor in harmony with the provisions of said "Heads of Agreement." Those Heads were in force only for four years in London, 1691-1695, and the Fund established in connection therewith was in 1695 left to the English Presbyterians, by the withdrawal of the Congregationalists.<sup>22</sup> It is not likely that a defunct agreement could have been of use to Philadelphia Presbyterians. The principal minister in London at the time of the establishment of the First Presbytery was the celebrated Daniel Williams, D.D., a prominent Welsh Presbyterian, and Sir Edmund Harrison of the same city, to whom the Presbytery wrote a letter in 1709, was also a distinguished Presbyterian.<sup>23</sup> The funds the Presbytery sought for in London were in Presbyterian hands alone. Compromises, such as the one found in the "Heads of Agreement," are as a rule unsatisfactory and short lived, and although these "Heads" were adopted also in Boston in 1691, they continued in force in New England but for a limited period, and were unacceptable to many Congregationalists.<sup>24</sup>

It is sometimes alleged that the first Presbytery was a mere association of ministers for purposes of advice and counsel, organized under the "Heads of Agreement," and not a body with authority. The minutes of the First Presbytery are the evidence to the contrary, even if the "Heads" were not nine years dead in London in 1706. There is nowhere in the records of the body anything to distinguish as to ecclesiastical

<sup>22</sup> Drysdale, *Presbyterian Church in England*, pp. 464-465.

<sup>23</sup> Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 161.

<sup>24</sup> Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 494.

character between the meetings of the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1710 and in 1910. Indeed, it would have been singular if the ministers organizing the Presbytery had accepted in any particular modern Congregationalism. As already stated the Congregationalism of colonial times was an ecclesiastical system with authority, and above all, the authority of the civil power. It will not do to read the nineteenth century into the eighteenth, and so be guilty of an anachronism. The attempt so to do is made, however, when the action of Presbytery with reference to "Assistants" in 1714, is interpreted as being the introduction into Presbytery of a feature of Congregationalism. The action reads:

"For the better establishing and settling congregations, it is ordered and appointed that in every congregation there be a sufficient number of assistants chosen, to aid the minister in the management of congregational affairs, and there be a book of records to that effect, and that the same be annually brought here to be revised by the Presbytery." <sup>22</sup>

This act certainly has the tone of Presbyterian authority over congregations, and calls not only for assistants to aid the ministers, but also for sessional record books, and for revision of records by Presbytery. But who were these "Assistants" to aid the ministers? The answer is suggested by the Cambridge Platform. That Platform, as already stated, provides for Ruling Elders to aid pastors. The Cambridge Association of Ministers also by a unanimous vote, declared, about 1691, "That Ruling Elders are appointed for the *assistance* of their pastors," and Cotton Mather recognized all other church officers as *assistants* of the pastor. The word came from New England and was the equivalent of Ruling Elder. Its origin, as an ecclesiastical term, is to be found in the controversies in New England over the office of Ruling Elder, some persons holding that the pastor was the only Ruling Elder, some that there should be only one Ruling Elder in a church, and others holding that in each church there should be a number of Ruling Elders as assistants of the pastor.

<sup>22</sup> *Minutes, General Presbytery*, p. 37.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia employed, therefore, in its Act, a term about which there could be no misconception, and definitely declared that Ruling Elders were "assistants" of the pastor, and that there should be more than one in each congregation.

Further, the differences which arose early between parties in the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church, were not primarily due to the influence of New England Congregationalism, but to views which Cotton Mather and others of his way of thinking would have rejected. This appears by the minutes of the General Synod for 1721, when the following Act was adopted by it, *viz.*:

"As we have been for many years in the exercise of Presbyterian government and church discipline, as exercised by the Presbyterians in the best reformed Churches, as far as the nature and constitution of this country will allow, our opinion is, that if any brother have any overture to offer to be formed into an act by the Synod, for the better carrying on in the matter of our government and discipline, that he may bring it in against next Synod."\*

This overture was carried in the affirmative by a majority, but six members protested against it. What the real animus of the protestants against the Act was, appears by the action taken at the Synod of 1722. The protestants that year withdrew their protest, and submitted four articles to the Synod. The first article reads:

"We freely grant, that there is full executive power of church government in Presbyteries and Synods, and that they may authoritatively, in the name of Christ, use the keys of church discipline to all proper intents and purposes, and that the keys of the church are committed to the church officers and them only."\*

This is undiluted Presbyterianism. The one point to which the protestants appear to have taken decided exception was the calling of the resolutions of Synod by the designation, "Acts." While granting that "mere circumstantialia of

\* *Minutes, General Synod*, p. 68.

\* *Ibid*, p. 74.

church discipline belonged to ecclesiastical judicatories to determine as occasions occur," they yet said: "If these things are called 'Acts,' we will take no offense at the word, provided that these Acts be not imposed upon such as conscientiously dissent from them."<sup>28</sup> All the four articles were approved by the Synod, and it is to be emphasized that the things maintained through the protest were those rights of conscience, which establishments of religion, whether in New England or elsewhere, as a rule, do not incline to recognize.

The movement which resulted, in 1729, in the adoption of the Confession of Faith by the General Synod, is also a most important evidence of the fact that the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. was not influenced in certain particulars by New England Congregationalism in its attitude toward the Westminster Confession of Faith. American Presbyterians appear to have continued in the exercise of Presbyterian government and discipline for twenty-three years, before their formal adoption of the Confession and Catechisms. One reason for this delay was unquestionably that there was a general agreement in all the Puritan and Presbyterian churches upon theology. Boston and Philadelphia held unanimously to the same doctrinal Confession. The point of departure between the two was the power of the Civil Magistrate over the Church. In this power Boston believed and Philadelphia disbelieved. This is shown by the fact that when the Confession of Faith was adopted in Philadelphia in 1729, exception was taken to some clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters, in the following words:

"The Synod do unanimously declare that they do not receive those articles in any such sense as to suppose the civil magistrate hath a controlling power over Synods with respect to the exercise of their ministerial authority, or the power to persecute any for their religion."<sup>29</sup>

The Cambridge Platform, in its upholding of the power of the civil magistrate over Synods, and for the punishment of heresy, had evidently no affirmative influence in determining

<sup>28</sup> *Minutes, General Synod*, p. 74.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

the character of early American Presbyterianism. The union of Church and State, then dominant in New England, was undoubtedly one of the influences which led Presbyterians to take exceptions to the Westminster Confession, exceptions which were formally put into the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in 1788.

Reference is often made to the fact that when the Synod adopted the Confession and Catechisms in 1729, it utterly disclaimed "all legislative power and authority in the church." This statement is used as if it was a result of New England influence. It is a sufficient reply to point out that this is still the position of the Presbyterian Church, and was also its position in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Form of Government, in Chapter I, deals with preliminary principles, and declares, in Section 7:

"That all church power is only ministerial and declarative; that is to say, that the Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith and manners; that no church authority ought to pretend to make laws in virtue of their own authority, and that all their decisions should be founded upon the revealed will of God."

When the Synod, in 1729, used the language first above quoted it was because it held that the Holy Scriptures were the law of the Church, and not because it held that the Church had no power to enforce the laws found in the Word of God. The Synod's act was in full harmony with other language of the Form of Government, to the effect that "there is much greater danger from the usurped claim of making laws, than from the right of judging upon laws already made and common to all who profess the Gospel."

The Synod of 1729, while it disclaimed all legislative power and authority in the church, also declared its attachment to religious liberty in the following words:

"The Synod do not claim or pretend to any authority of imposing our faith upon other men's consciences, but do profess our just dissatisfaction and abhorrence of such impositions." "

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<sup>20</sup> *Minutes, General Synod*, p. 94.

This declaration was in distinct opposition to the attitude of New England Congregationalism, and the American Presbyterian Church still holds to the position thus taken. Chapter XXIII, of the Confession of Faith, dealing with the civil magistrate was amended by the Church in 1788 by the insertion, among other changes, of the following:

“It is the duty of Civil Magistrates to protect the church of our common Lord, without giving preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger.”

And again:

“It is the duty of Civil Magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner, as that no person be suffered, either upon pretence of religion or infidelity to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatsoever.”

These amendments represent the position of the Presbyterian Church from 1706 to the present time upon religious liberty. Compare the above statements with the Cambridge Platform, and the antagonism between the amended Confession and said Platform, becomes most marked. Presbyterian loyalty to religious liberty was a development out of their own spiritual experiences and clear thinking.

The Synod also declared itself willing:

“To receive one another as Christ has received us to the glory of God, and admit to fellowship in sacred ordinances all such as we have grounds to believe Christ will at last admit to the Kingdom of Heaven.”

Upon the matter of terms of admission to church membership, the position of the Synod is still that of the Presbyterian Church. The Larger Catechism, question 166, reads: “To whom is baptism to be administered?” Part of the answer is: “Baptism is not to be administered to

any that are out of the visible church until they confess their faith in Christ and obedience to him." The two acts referred to in this statement, viz.: a profession of faith in Christ and a profession of obedience unto Christ, are the only requirements that have ever been lawful in the Presbyterian Church in connection with admission to church membership. This catholic principle as to church fellowship appears also in the Westminster Confession of Faith. If at any time American Presbyterians have been narrower than their Standards it is not because of anything in the Standards themselves. Whatever influences have in one way and another led at any time to temporary departures from the catholicity of the Standards, American Presbyterians have soon returned to the correct Biblical principles of church fellowship.

Further, the Synod, while making the utterances just quoted, made them all as a preamble to the following declaration:

"Yet we are undoubtedly obliged to take care that the faith once delivered to the Saints, be kept pure and uncorrupt among us, and so handed down to our posterity."

The American Presbyterian Church, acting for itself, has exalted above all other forms of truth, the truth revealed in Holy Scripture. It holds that all truth is in order to goodness, and "that no opinion can be either more pernicious or more absurd than that which brings truth and falsehood upon a level, and represents it as of no consequence as to what a man's opinions are. On the contrary, they are persuaded that there is an inseparable connection between faith and practice, truth and duty. Otherwise it would be of no consequence either to discover truth or embrace it." It also maintains "that there are truths and forms, with respect to which men of good characters and principles may differ. And in all these they think it is the duty, both of private Christians and societies, to exercise mutual forbearance toward each other."<sup>31</sup> Pres-

<sup>31</sup> *Form of Gov.*, Chap. I, Secs. 4 and 5.

byterians have held, and hold strongly, to the principles which they maintain, and insist just as strongly upon the rights of others to do likewise. True liberty is ever careful of the rights of all men.

This paper makes clear that the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. was founded chiefly by Presbyterians; that the founders, whether from New England or elsewhere, were sincerely attached to Presbyterian principles of faith and polity; and that in an age when intolerance was the general rule in both Church and State, these founders vindicated in their ecclesiastical system, the right of private judgment, the principles of true religious liberty, and the independence of the Church from control by the State in things ecclesiastical. Whether of English, Scotch, Welsh or Irish origin, the founders were all men of a generous type, clear sighted, and in advance of their time. All honor to the ministers and elders of the First Presbytery and First Synod, who established the first of American Federal Republics, in loyalty to true religious liberty, and to Jesus Christ as the only head of the Church. They saw the opportunity God gave them, and established a "Free Church in a Free State."



## SELF-GOVERNMENT AND CALVINISM.

BY PAUL FREDERICQ, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE  
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(Translated from the *Journal de Genève*, July 10, 1909.)

At the time of the celebration last July at Geneva of the fourth centenary of the birth of the leading French religious reformer, whose history and work are so closely linked with that of his adopted city on Lake Lemman, M. Paul Fredericq, Professor of History in the University of Ghent, contributed by request to the *Journal de Genève* of July 10, 1909, the following striking article upon the contribution of the religious polity worked out in Geneva to the development and maintenance of self-government.—T. W. B.

Self-government is not an invention of Calvinism.

The Grecian republics and Rome practised it before the Christian Era. During the Middle Ages the communes in almost the entire Occident likewise knew it. The Italian republics and the communes of Flanders especially caused it to flourish. The citizens of Florence, Venice, Genoa, Milan, the burghers of Ghent and Bruges deliberated in the open air on the public square and regulated their affairs by universal and direct suffrage, like the contemporaries of Pericles and the Greeks, and, as I have seen it exercised still at Evolene, Saint Luc and other hidden villages of your beautiful Alps.

Later national organisms of self-government arose in the Parliament of England, the Cortes of Aragon and Castille, the Reichstag of the Holy Germanic Empire, the States General of France and those of the Low Countries.

But, during the fifteenth century the great nations were forming. The commanding need of centralization favors in France the absolutism of royalty of the Capetians and the Valois, in Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella, in England of the Tudors, in the Low Countries of the Dukes of Burgundy. Equally, in Germany and Italy, the great electors and the municipal dynasties tend to transform the self-government into a princely absolutism.

Thus, at the moment when Luther rises against Rome, the monarchy of divine right has struck down in all the Occident almost all the barriers, and suppressed nearly all the guarantees of the people *vis-à-vis* of the sovereign.

And Luther relies on the princes. He emancipates the consciences, but he preaches submission to the Sovereign *Dei gratia*. In Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Lutherism does not touch monarchical absolutism, and even strengthens it. It is the same with Anglican Protestantism in England, where the Tudors, while allowing Parliament to exist, make of it a docile instrument and subject to the Crown.

Then Calvin appears at the precise moment when self-government seems on the point of expiring in the Occident, and has no longer conserved refuges except in a few poor and obscure Swiss cantons.

Calvin freed the Church of temporal power and founded a religious organization freed of all the Roman hierarchy.

Every Calvinistic parish is a small, equal and autonomous republic, directed by universal suffrage, which elects the pastor and the members of the consistory.

It is an aggressive return of self-government, conquered and almost extirpated, but reëntering upon the scene in the domain of religion.

And the Calvinists of all countries, who practise self-government in their religious faith, are not men to bow their heads under the scepter of political tyrants.

What does one see at once? The French Huguenots hold in check the royal absolutism. The Calvinists of the Netherlands, led by William of Orange and Marnix (a pupil of Calvin and of Theodore de Beze), solemnly depose Philip the Second in the name of this principle proclaimed by the States General of Holland: that the sovereign is made for the people and not the people for the sovereign. John Knox (another pupil of Geneva) overturns Mary Stuart in Scotland.

At the close of the sixteenth century all Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican Europe is still bound to absolute monarchy, but there are three homes of self-government sprung from Calvinism: Switzerland, Holland and Scotland.

And these three small homes of political liberty will illuminate all Europe, and from there the whole world.

From Scotland descend the Puritans; and the Round Heads of Cromwell strike down the absolutism of the Stuarts, cause to fall the head of Charles the First on the scaffold, and create the Republic of England.

The Calvinistic diplomacy of the Netherlands and the genius of the great Stadholder-King, William the Third of Orange, breaks the absolutism of Louis the Fourteenth and establishes definitely parliamentarism in England, which, since then, has remained its classic land.

Then it is the Calvinistic nonconformists of England and Holland who transport self-government to the other side of the Atlantic and create there an immense federal Switzerland, the Republic of the United States.

Thus all the Calvinistic nations freed themselves politically. On the contrary, the Lutheran and Roman Catholic peoples remain bowed under the yoke of monarchic absolutism.

In the eighteenth century the French philosophers and the men of the *Encyclopédie* arrive. But where have they found their doctrines, so contrary to those of the "grand century" of Louis the Fourteenth? At Calvinistic sources.

Voltaire goes to find religious tolerance in England. Montesquieu finds there parliamentarism and Jean Jacques, "the citizen of Geneva," who has received the strong imprint of Calvinism in his country, brings to France his *Contrat social*; La Fayette, Rochambeau, etc., returning from the American War of Independence, add the influence of the United States. The French Revolution of 1789 was, thus, without knowing it, an indirect fruit of Calvinism in many ways, and in that which it had that was best.

In the nineteenth century all nations more or less civilized adopted finally, one after the other, English parliamentarism, and gave themselves constitutions that guaranteed self-government with all its degrees and shades, but which carried a mortal blow to the monarchy of divine right, and that whether under the name constitutional monarchy or republic—the label is of small moment.

On the confines of Asia two European countries still remain faithful to absolutism: Russia and Turkey. Before our eyes they have received a constitution (on paper) and they have finally joined the general movement that has caused self-government, more or less sincere, to triumph everywhere, not only in Europe, but even in the other parts of the world; in the United States, Canada, in the republics of Central and South America, in Austral Africa and in the young republics of Australia and New Zealand, whose boundless future is like that of the United States. Even in Japan, the Yellow Race has been drawn in by this irresistible contagion.

I am not a theologian, but, as an historian, I have been struck for a long time by this extraordinary phenomenon: self-government, threatened with death even at the moment when Protestantism appears on the theater of the world, and saved by three small countries—Switzerland, Holland and Scotland—which all three had their eyes fixed upon the beacon lighted by Calvin at Geneva.

It is for this reason especially, that I bless the holy city of Lake Leman, that small and valiant Geneva of less than twenty thousand inhabitants in the sixteenth century, from where started the great movement of political as well as religious emancipation, which constitutes what we are agreed to call "modern civilization."

Perhaps all historians do not attach a sufficient importance to the action of religion on the development or the restriction of public liberties.

My master, Emile de Laveleye, recalled it to them in writings that caused a sensation in their time.

As soon as one does not close one's eyes to it, one notes this historic truth: there are religions that put peoples to sleep, and there are religions that keep them awake.

Surely Calvinism ranges itself among these latter. It must be permitted to say it at Geneva, on the occasion of laying the cornerstone of the international monument of the Reformation.

Geneva, July 7, 1909.

**“WM. MARSHALL’S REGISTER OF  
BIRTHS AND BAPTISMS IN THE SCOTCH  
CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA FROM THE  
YEAR 1767 TO THE YEAR 1801.”**

**REGISTER OF BAPTISMS &c**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 197.)

[21]

John Holmes Son to Samuel &  
Mary was born July 5<sup>th</sup>. & bap-  
tised. August Sab: 2<sup>nd</sup>. 1777.

John King Son to Son & Isabel  
was born in February & bap-  
tised Aug<sup>t</sup> sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1777 The  
mother being the representing parent.

John Behmen Son to Iohn &                      was  
born                      & baptised [Sept] <sup>7</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> sab: last  
1777. the mother being the representing parent  
Margaret Lemon Daughter to Hugh  
&                      was born                      & baptised  
Aug<sup>t</sup> sab: 4<sup>th</sup>. 1777.

From Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1777 till June 1778 J was  
driven from Philad<sup>a</sup> by the British  
Troops taking possession of “ & the  
Congregation was totally dissolved.  
during that Time. Then resided in  
Bucks County & preached to some of  
the Congregation who were there with others  
[22]                      1778.

John Hunter Son to Robert & Ruth was  
born Aug<sup>t</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>. & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. sab: 2<sup>d</sup>.  
Robert Crumby Son to James and

<sup>7</sup> Erased.

was born & baptised sad day  
 Samuel M<sup>c</sup>Lure Son to Samuel & Jane  
 was born Aug<sup>t</sup> sab: 2<sup>nd</sup> & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>  
 Sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>.

James Ritchards son to W<sup>m</sup>. & Jane was born  
 & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>.

John Marshall Son of the Rev<sup>d</sup> William  
 Marshall & Margaret was born Oct<sup>r</sup>  
 3<sup>rd</sup> a little before 12 OClock mid day  
 & baptised on Sabbath being 25<sup>th</sup> of  
 said month by the Red John Mason  
 of New York. & died July 14<sup>th</sup> at 3 o Clock  
 afternoon 1779

James Holmes Son to Samuel & Mary  
 born Jan<sup>r</sup> sab: 2<sup>nd</sup> & baptised Feb<sup>r</sup> sab 3<sup>rd</sup> 1779

James Miller Son to W<sup>m</sup> & Eliz was born Feb<sup>r</sup>  
 & baptised April Sab. 2<sup>d</sup> 1779

Margaret McCulloach Daughter to John  
 & Mary was born March 16<sup>th</sup>. & baptised  
 April sab 3<sup>rd</sup> 1779.

[23] John Conchy Son to James and  
 was born May 4 &  
 baptised May 30<sup>th</sup>. 1779

W<sup>m</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>Cubben Son to Alex<sup>r</sup>. &  
 Sarah was born April 25 &  
 baptised June sab 4<sup>th</sup> 1779  
 Mary Marshall Daughter to  
 William & Mary was born  
 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1778 & baptised June  
 sab. 4<sup>th</sup> 1779 The parents  
 only being now returned to this  
 place from whence they were  
 driven by the troubles of the  
 Times

[24] Robert Boyd Son to Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Jean  
 born July 9<sup>th</sup>. & baptised  
 Aug<sup>t</sup> sab: 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1779

“2” written over “1.”

Jsaac Worley Till Son to Hannah  
 a fre Nigroe woman in full  
 Communion with the Church  
 was born in Gen: Washingtons  
 Camp Valey forge ninteen months  
 ago & baptised on this 4<sup>th</sup>. Sabbath  
 of Aug<sup>r</sup>. 1779

John Kinsley Son to Frazer & Susannah  
 born Sep<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>. & baptised Oct<sup>r</sup>.  
 sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. 1779

Margaret M<sup>c</sup>Jntosh Daughter  
 to Daniel & Kathrine born  
 Oct<sup>r</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>. & baptised 3<sup>rd</sup>. Sab: said  
 month 1779.

[25] Elizabeth Hardy Daughter to Robt &  
 Martha born & baptised thursday  
 [being] \* Oct<sup>r</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>. being our Fast day  
 before the Communion. 1779

William Robertson Son to Captain  
 Robertson & born May  
 in New York State & baptised Oct<sup>r</sup>.  
 25 being our thanksgiving day. 1779  
 At said time were also baptised

Dorothy Henderson Daughter to David  
 born And Ephraim  
 January Son to Peter & Jean born  
 [and baptised] <sup>10</sup>

1 Sarah Forgrave Daughter to Robert  
 & Sarah was born  
 and baptisd Aprile sab: 4.<sup>11</sup> 1780

[26] 2 William Marshall Son to the Rev<sup>d</sup>. William  
 Marshall & Margaret was born Oct<sup>r</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup>.  
 at 3 o'Clock A. M. & baptised Nov<sup>r</sup>. sab  
 4<sup>th</sup>. <sup>10</sup> by the Revd. Ia<sup>r</sup>. Clarkson. 1779

1

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\* Erased.

<sup>10</sup> Erased.

<sup>11</sup> "4" is written over "3."

[Three lines erased, being an incorrect entry of Sarah Forgrave.]

- 2 3 4 5 Mary, Margaret Ann & Elizabeth  
Daughters of William Hutcheson &  
were baptised May 4<sup>th</sup>. 1780.
- 6, 7, Iean Smith & John Colwin Chilidren of  
Elizabeth Colwin were baptisd June sab. 4<sup>th</sup>
- 8 Samuel Richards Son to W<sup>m</sup>. Richards (Iean the  
mother died in Child bed) was born Iuly 7<sup>th</sup>.  
& baptisd 23<sup>rd</sup>. 1780.
- 9 William Marshall jun<sup>r</sup>. Son to William  
& Mary                      was born Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup> & baptised  
October sab: 3<sup>rd</sup> 1780
- Son of Samuel & Jean
- 10 William M<sup>c</sup>Lure                      ^                      was born Sep<sup>r</sup>.  
& baptised October sab: 4<sup>th</sup>. 1780  
[he is Son of Samuel & Jean] <sup>12</sup>
- [27] 11 Mary M<sup>c</sup>Culloch Daughter to John  
& Mary was born Oct<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>. &  
baptised Sab: 4<sup>th</sup>. of said month  
1780 Samuel M<sup>c</sup>Lures Child was  
baptised in the forenoon & John  
M<sup>c</sup>Culloch's in the afternoon of  
said day
- 12 William Christian Son to Margaret  
(who is the professing parent) & John was  
born Aprile 2<sup>nd</sup>. & baptised May 8<sup>th</sup>.  
by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Smith. 1780.  
At Tohickon in Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1779 I baptisd James  
Geddes Son to George & Mary  
An Means Daughter to William & Mary  
A Child of Thomas Craigs & Sarah
- 13 And on the 1<sup>st</sup>. sab: of Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1780 at said  
place baptisd Ioseph M<sup>c</sup>Millen Son to  
Iohn & Sarah. born in December 1779
- 14 Robert Davison Son to John & Sarah  
was born Sep<sup>r</sup>.                      & baptised November  
sab: 2<sup>nd</sup>. 1780.

<sup>12</sup> Erased.



- [28] 15 Samuel Holmes Son to Samuel deceased  
 & Mary was born Nov<sup>r</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>.  
 & baptised Decem: sab. 2<sup>d</sup>. 1780  
 presented by the Mother
- 1 William Miller Son to W<sup>m</sup>. & Elizabeth  
 was born Nov<sup>r</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>. 1780 &  
 baptised Ian<sup>y</sup> sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. 1781.
- 2 Elizabeth Purden daughter to John &  
 Mary was born Jan<sup>y</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>. & baptised  
 Feb<sup>r</sup>. sab. 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1781.
- 3 Margaret Slater daughter to James &  
 Margaret was born March 28<sup>th</sup>. & baptised  
 March sab. 2<sup>nd</sup>. 1781
- 4 Elizabeth Hunter Daughter to Robert  
 & Ruth was born March 14<sup>th</sup>. &  
 Baptised April sab 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1781——
- [29] 5 Iohn Stewart Son to Peter & Juliana  
 was born May 30<sup>th</sup>. & baptised  
 Iune sab 4<sup>th</sup> 1781
- 6 James M<sup>c</sup>Kubben [was born] <sup>13</sup> Son  
 to Alexander & Sarah was born  
 Aug<sup>t</sup>. 15 & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. sab:  
 2<sup>d</sup>. 1781.
- 7 Margaret Marshall Daughter to  
 the Rev<sup>d</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Marshall & Margaret  
 was born October 30<sup>th</sup> 1780  
 & baptised Dec<sup>r</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>. by the  
 Rev<sup>d</sup>. Iames Clarkson.
- She died  
 July 13, 1783
- 8 Alex<sup>r</sup>. Boyd Son to Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Jean  
 was born Oct<sup>r</sup>. & baptised  
 Nov<sup>r</sup>. sab: 3<sup>d</sup>. 1780
- [30] 1 Jean Wilky Daughter to Thomas  
 and Jean was born Jan<sup>y</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>. &  
 baptised Feb<sup>y</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>. 1782

. " Erased.

- 2 W<sup>m</sup>. Conchy Son to Iames &  
was born Feb<sup>y</sup> 14<sup>th</sup>. & baptisd  
March 31<sup>st</sup>. 1782.
- 3 James Hoggan Son to Iames &  
Cecil was born Feb<sup>y</sup>. 23<sup>rd</sup>.  
& baptised March 31<sup>st</sup>. 1782
- 4 Thomas Boyd son to Andrew &  
Sarah was born March                      &  
baptised April sab 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1782.  
[J<sup>n</sup>. McCullochs Child.]<sup>14a</sup>
- 5 W<sup>m</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>Culloch Son to John  
& Elizabeth was born  
& baptised May sab                      1782
- [31] 6 William Smith Son to John and  
Elizabeth was born                      1782  
& baptised May 23<sup>d</sup> sd year
- 7 John Purdon Son to John and  
Mary was born May                      and  
baptised July sabath first 1782.
- 8 Isabel <sup>14b</sup> Miller daughter to William  
& Sarah was born June 28 <sup>15</sup>  
baptised Iuly sab: 2<sup>d</sup> 1782
- 9 Iames Kinsley Son to Frazer and  
Susannah was born Iune 23<sup>rd</sup>  
& baptised July sab: 4<sup>th</sup> 1782
- 10 Samuel M<sup>c</sup>Lure Son to Samuel  
& Jean was born July 25<sup>th</sup>  
Baptised Aug<sup>t</sup>. sab. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1782
- [32] William Christian Son to Margaret  
(the professing parent) & John was  
born June 25, & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. sabbath  
the Second, 1782.  
Sussannah Foregrave Daughter to  
Robert & Sussannah, born July 17<sup>th</sup>.  
& baptised October sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. <sup>16</sup> 1782.

<sup>14a</sup> Erased.

<sup>14b</sup> "Sarah" erased.

<sup>15</sup> "June 28" written over "July &."

Elizabeth McCallister daughter  
to Iohn & Elizabeth was born  
Sp<sup>r</sup>. & baptisd Octob<sup>r</sup>. sab 1<sup>st</sup>. 1782  
Martha Marshall Daughter to William  
& Mary was born & baptisd  
Octob<sup>r</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>. being Thanksgiving day 1782  
Mary Burnet Daughter to William  
& Ether was born & baptisd  
said day

[33] William Anderson Son to William  
& was born  
& baptisd December 6. 1782

Margaret Kennedy Daughter to  
Robert & Rose was born Nov<sup>r</sup>. sab:  
2<sup>d</sup>. & baptised Dec<sup>r</sup>. sab. 1<sup>st</sup>. 1782.

Mary Hebrun an adult person  
was born Jan<sup>r</sup>. 1762 & baptised  
Jan<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>. 1783

[Samuel Hebrun was born  
Dec. 1 1782] <sup>17</sup>

Samuel Heburn Son to James  
& Mary was born Nov <sup>18</sup> Nov 5<sup>th</sup>.  
1782 & baptised Jan<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>.  
1783.

[34] Elizabeth Richards daughter to William  
& Elizabeth was born  
& baptized Aprile sab. 2<sup>nd</sup>. 1783  
May Cambell Daughter to John  
& Grizel was born and  
baptisd May 1<sup>st</sup>. being Humiliation  
day 1783.

Andrew Norris Son to John and Elizabeth  
was born May 30<sup>th</sup>. [178] <sup>19</sup> and baptised  
July sab: 2<sup>d</sup>. 1783.

<sup>18</sup> "1st" written over "2nd."

<sup>19</sup> Erased.

<sup>20</sup> "Nov." written over "Dec."

[35] William Hoggan Son to James and  
Cecil was born Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1783. and  
baptised Jan<sup>r</sup> sab. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1784.

James Boyd Son to James and  
Mary was born                      and baptised  
Feb<sup>r</sup> sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. 1784.

James Hay Son to John and

was born Feb<sup>r</sup>. <sup>March</sup> 29 and baptised  
March sabbath 3<sup>rd</sup>. <sup>^</sup> 1784

John Hardie Son to Rob<sup>t</sup> and Martha  
was born                      and baptised March sab. 2<sup>d</sup>.  
Ebenezer M<sup>c</sup>Culloch Son to John and

Mary was born Jan<sup>r</sup> and baptised <sup>1784</sup>  
April sab. 2<sup>d</sup>. 1784

Alex<sup>r</sup>. & Sarah M<sup>c</sup>kibben Son & Daughter  
to Alex<sup>r</sup> & Sarah were born Feb<sup>r</sup>  
& baptised April 23<sup>d</sup>. 1784

[36] Peter Stuart Son to Peter & Juliana  
was born March                      & baptised April  
sabbath 4<sup>th</sup>. 1784.

Frazer Kinsly was

An Mitchel Daughter to Andrew &                      was  
born in London & baptised Aug<sup>t</sup> 14<sup>th</sup>. 1784.

William Richards [was born] <sup>20</sup> Son to William  
& Elizabeth was born                      & baptised in  
Oct<sup>r</sup>                      1785

Tho<sup>s</sup> Boyd Son to Andrew & Sarah  
was born                      & baptised Oct<sup>r</sup> 1785

John Cambels Child

Dereck January Son of Peter &  
Jean was born                      1784  
& baptised Apl.                      1785.

<sup>20</sup> Erased.

<sup>20</sup> Erased.

[37] Rob<sup>t</sup> Forgrave Son of late Robert &  
was born Jan<sup>r</sup> & baptisd March  
Sab. 4.

Smith son of John Smith  
was born & baptisd  
Aug<sup>t</sup> 1785

Margaret Niccol Daughter of  
Rob<sup>t</sup> <sup>21</sup> & Margaret was born  
Feb<sup>r</sup> & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup> Sabath  
3<sup>d</sup> 1785.

Theophilus M<sup>c</sup>Lure [was] <sup>22</sup> Son  
of Samuel & Jean was born  
Aug<sup>t</sup> & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup> sab:  
4<sup>th</sup> 1785.

[here follow four blank pages, numbered 39 40 42 43]

[44] 1788

Elizabeth Patterson Daughter to John  
& was born & baptisd Dec<sup>r</sup>.  
Benjamin Bready Son to Thos  
& Elizabeth was born and  
baptisd Feby. 1789.

Jean Conchy was born Dec<sup>r</sup> 18  
& baptisd March 1789

Mary M<sup>c</sup>Culloch daughter to John  
& Mary born & baptsd 1789

[45] Son to  
John Paterson & Helen was born  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 30 & baptisd Dec<sup>r</sup> sab 3<sup>rd</sup> <sup>23</sup>

By Rev<sup>d</sup> John Anderson  
Elizabeth Young Daughter to W<sup>m</sup>.  
and Agnes was born Ian<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>  
and baptisd Jan<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> being the  
4<sup>th</sup> sabbath of the month 1790  
Ebenezer Nisbet born April  
& baptisd May sab 5. 1790.

<sup>21</sup> Written over "William" erased.

<sup>22</sup> Erased.

<sup>23</sup> "3" written over "2."

James Son to Robert Nicol  
born & baptisd June 1790

Son to Captain Morgan & Martha

Tho<sup>a</sup> Morgan <sup>^</sup> born May and  
baptisd Aug<sup>t</sup> sab. 1<sup>st</sup>. 1790  
[46] Elizabeth M<sup>c</sup>Culloch daught  
to John & Mary was born July <sup>24</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>.  
& baptised August sabbath 3<sup>rd</sup>.  
1790.

Daughter to Thomas Austin  
born & baptisd Sep<sup>r</sup> sab: 3, 1790.  
Jsabel Austin daughter to James  
& born [Oct] <sup>25</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> and  
baptised Oct<sup>r</sup> sab 5. 1790  
John Jamison Son to John and  
born Oct<sup>r</sup> 18 and baptised  
Dec<sup>r</sup> sabbath 3<sup>rd</sup> 1790.  
[47] Baptised Ian<sup>y</sup> Billy Breadys  
child and Dinah a negroe woman

Son of James & Cecil

John Hoggan <sup>^</sup> born July 5  
baptisd July sab. 4<sup>th</sup>.  
1791.

George Washington Clark Son  
to David & was  
born Aug<sup>t</sup> and baptised  
Sep<sup>t</sup> sab. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1791.  
[48] 1791.

John M<sup>c</sup>Culloch Son to John  
and Mary was born Nov<sup>r</sup> 15  
and baptisd. Nov<sup>r</sup> sab 3<sup>rd</sup> being  
the 20<sup>th</sup>. of the month  
Ann Nisbet Daughter to Hugh  
and was born Oct<sup>r</sup> 23rd

<sup>a</sup> Indistinct, "ly" apparently written over "ne."

<sup>2</sup> Erased.

and baptised Nov<sup>r</sup> sab 4<sup>th</sup> 1791.

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Mr. Spence had a child born but not baptised  
Oct<sup>r</sup> 1791.

---

Alexander Patterson Son to John  
and Marg<sup>t</sup> was born  
baptised Dec<sup>r</sup> sab 1<sup>st</sup> 1791

Thomas Steel Son to John and  
was born Oct<sup>r</sup> and baptised  
Dec<sup>r</sup> sab. 2nd 1791

William Wallace Young Son to  
William & Agnes born Jan<sup>r</sup>  
7<sup>th</sup> baptised Feb<sup>r</sup> sab. 1<sup>st</sup>.

1792

[49] Nancy Bready Daughter to  
Thomas & Elizabeth was born  
March 31. 1791 and baptised  
Feb<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> being the 2nd Sabbath  
of the month 1792

Margaret Conchy daughter  
to James & Jannet was born  
January 19<sup>th</sup> and baptised  
March sabbath 4<sup>th</sup> 1792

Hannah Alick daughter to Sarah  
Till born baptised July sab  
3rd 1792

Mary Nicol daughter to  
Robert and  
born Sep<sup>r</sup> and baptised  
Oct<sup>r</sup> sab 1: 1792

[50] James Patterson Son to James  
and was born Oct<sup>r</sup> and  
baptised Nov<sup>r</sup> sab. 1, 1792.

James Weatherup Son to Alexander  
& Ann was born Oct<sup>r</sup> 20 and  
baptised Dec<sup>r</sup> sab 3rd 1792

Ann Brown daughter to                      and  
    was born                      and baptised  
 Dec<sup>r</sup>. sab. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1792.

Alexander Austin Son to James and  
    his wife was born Dec<sup>r</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>.  
 1792 and baptised Jan<sup>y</sup> sab 1<sup>st</sup>. 1793

Jannet Jamison daughter to  
 John and Ann                      was born  
 Feb<sup>y</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>. and baptised April  
 sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. 1793

[51] William Young                      Clark                      Son to David and  
                         ^                      Jannet  
    was born April 7<sup>th</sup> and  
 baptised May 5<sup>th</sup>. 1793.

Jared Henry Fitzimmons Son to  
 Hetty Fitzimons widow was born  
    and baptised Jan<sup>y</sup>. sab 1<sup>st</sup>. 1794

Ferguson Hugh Nisbet Son to Hugh &  
 M                      was born Feb<sup>y</sup> 23 and  
 baptised March sab last being the  
 30<sup>th</sup>. day of the month 1794.

Mary Paterson daughter to John  
 & Helen was born June 6 &  
 baptised Sabbath 4 being the  
 22nd day of that month 1794

[Pages 52 and 53 here follow. They appear to consist  
 of merely private memoranda, but are indeed in great part  
 undecipherable.]

[54]                      1794  
 Margaret Hamilton daughter to  
 James & Jannet was born  
 & baptised Aug<sup>t</sup>. sab. 5<sup>th</sup>. 1794





Philipps daughter to James  
&                      was born & baptisd  
April                      Monday thansgiving  
by M<sup>r</sup>. Banks

Hamilton                      to William  
was born & baptisd  
Monday thanksgiving by M<sup>r</sup>. Banks  
[57]                      Neshameny May 30.

Baptisd Agnes Dean wife of John & Francis  
William & Jean Children also W<sup>m</sup> Bready  
Son to Thomas & Eliz: after preaching.

William Smiley Son to David.  
and                      Smiley was born June  
25. and baptisd July 30<sup>th</sup>. 1797.

Charles Moses Son to Marg<sup>t</sup> was born  
1795 & William born April 10 1797  
were baptised Aug<sup>t</sup> sab 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1797

Mary White daughter to Charles &  
Margaret was born July 26 &  
baptisd Aug<sup>t</sup> Sab 3<sup>d</sup> 1797

William &  
Jane Gambel daughter to ^ Betsy  
was born July 16 baptsed Aug<sup>t</sup> sab 3<sup>d</sup>. 1797  
[Mary Christian Philips daughter to  
James

Hamilton daghter to William &  
were baptisd on the Monday after the  
sab by M<sup>r</sup>. Banks] <sup>26</sup>

[58] William Miligan Son to Rob<sup>t</sup> & Jean was  
born Oct<sup>r</sup> 14 & baptisd Nov<sup>r</sup>. sab 2<sup>d</sup>.  
1797.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>Caye Son to William and Alice  
was born Nov<sup>r</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup> [17] <sup>27</sup> & baptisd  
Dec<sup>r</sup>. sab. 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1797.

<sup>26</sup> Erased.

<sup>27</sup> Erased.

Iean Weir daughter to William &  
was born Feb<sup>r</sup> about the beginning or perhaps  
the End of Jan<sup>r</sup> 1798 & baptised on the first  
sabbath of March said year,

John Bain daughter to John &  
Bain was born Feb<sup>r</sup> sab. 3<sup>rd</sup> and as  
her Father died of the yellow fever her mother  
presented her in baptism March sab. 4<sup>th</sup>.  
1798.

Eliza Young daughter to Alex<sup>r</sup> & Agnes  
was born                      and baptised June  
sab. 1. 1798.

[59] Francis Allen Clark Son to  
was presented by his mother & baptised  
Nov. sab. 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1798.

Charlotte White daughter to Charles

born Sep<sup>r</sup>

& Margaret. <sup>A</sup> was presented by the  
Mother the father being dead & baptised  
Nov<sup>r</sup>. sab 4<sup>th</sup>.

William Frazer was born  
presented by the Mother Margaret his  
father David being dead & baptised  
Nov<sup>r</sup>. sab 4.

Alexander Miller Son to John & Letitia  
was born                      & baptised Dec<sup>r</sup>.  
sab. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1798

Robert Milligan Son to Robert and  
Jean was born Dec<sup>r</sup>. 29 1798 and  
baptised Feb<sup>r</sup>. sab 2<sup>d</sup>. 1799.

John Iames Davy Son to Adam  
& Betsy both dead was born  
& baptised Feb<sup>r</sup> sab. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1799. presented  
by Sarah Bartholemew Grandmother.

[60] Laughlin Henry Son to                      Henry  
was baptised March sab: 4<sup>th</sup> 28 1799

<sup>a</sup> Indistinct, but apparently 4th written over 3rd.

Iean Nisbet Daughter to Hugh and  
Marg<sup>r</sup> was born Ian<sup>r</sup>  
and baptisd March sab. 4<sup>th</sup> 1799.

William Alexander Son to Iohn &                      was born  
March                      & baptisd April sab. 2<sup>d</sup> 1799.  
Helen Patterson daughter to John &                      was born  
Sep<sup>r</sup> 1798                      & baptisd April sab 2<sup>d</sup> 1799  
[James Alexander Son to Iohn &  
was born Sep<sup>r</sup> 1798 & baptisd april sab 2<sup>d</sup>  
1799.] <sup>29</sup>

Ebenezer Catron Son to James & Mary  
was born [Sepr] <sup>30</sup> Aug 30 & baptisd Oct sab 3. 1799  
David Miller Son of [David] <sup>31</sup> John & Letitia  
was born                      and baptisd Oc<sup>r</sup> sab. 3<sup>d</sup>  
1799.

Letitia Charlotte Read daughter  
to Alexander &                      his wife  
was born Jan<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> & baptised  
Feb<sup>r</sup> sabbath 3<sup>d</sup> being the 16<sup>th</sup>  
of the month., [179] <sup>32</sup> 1800  
[61] Margaret Young daughter to Alexander  
& Ann was born in Feb<sup>r</sup>                      baptised  
April Sabbath first 1800  
Elenor Weir daughter to William and  
   was born March                      baptised April  
sab. 3<sup>d</sup> 1800

Iannet Hamilton daughter to William and  
   was born April                      baptised May  
sabbath 1<sup>st</sup> 1800  
Eliza Alexander daughter to Iohn and  
   was born Oct<sup>r</sup> 1799, baptised  
May sab: 1<sup>st</sup> 1800.

<sup>29</sup> Apparently erased.

<sup>30</sup> Erased.

<sup>31</sup> Erased.

<sup>32</sup> Erased.

Helen Paterson Daughter to John and  
was born May 20<sup>th</sup>. & baptised June  
sabbath 3<sup>d</sup>. 1800

Milligan

Jane Hughes <sup>A</sup> daughter to Robert and Jane  
was born May 13<sup>th</sup>. & baptised June  
sabbath 5<sup>th</sup>. 1800

Mary An Clark daughter to—Mrs  
Clark was born June 23<sup>d</sup> and  
baptised July Sab: 1<sup>st</sup>. 1800

An Jean Anderson [also William] <sup>ss</sup> Daughter  
to William & was born & baptised  
Oct<sup>r</sup>. Sab 3<sup>d</sup>. 1800

[62] William Anderson Son to William &  
was born Sep<sup>r</sup>. & baptised Oct<sup>r</sup>. sab  
3<sup>d</sup>. 1800.

William Fairbairn Son to William and  
was born xxx <sup>ss</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 24 1800 &  
baptised Ian<sup>r</sup> sab 3<sup>d</sup>. 1801.

James Hogan Son to David & Charlote  
was born Ian<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> & baptised Feb<sup>r</sup> sab.  
2nd. 1801.

William Henry Son

baptised May sab 2<sup>d</sup>.

Martha Brown daughter of William and  
Sarah was born Iuly 29<sup>th</sup>. and baptised  
Sep<sup>r</sup>. Sabbath first being the 6<sup>th</sup>. day of the  
month in the year 1801.

William Hamilton Son to Rob<sup>t</sup> and  
was born Aug<sup>t</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup> & baptised Sep<sup>r</sup>. sab 4<sup>th</sup>  
1801.

Margaret Hervey daughter to Tho<sup>t</sup>. Dodds and  
his wife was born Aug<sup>t</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. and baptised  
Sep<sup>r</sup>. sab. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1801.

Jean Rob daughter to Mrs Rob was born  
July & baptised Oct<sup>r</sup>. 26. 1801

<sup>ss</sup> Erased.

<sup>ss</sup> Erased.

Iean Milligan daughter to Robert & Iean was born Sep<sup>r</sup> 18  
& baptised Nov<sup>r</sup> 1, 1801

Samuel Thomson Son to Tho<sup>r</sup> was born & baptised  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 1. 1801

[63] Marshall Bread Son to Thomas and  
Elizabeth was born Jan<sup>r</sup> and  
baptised at Nishameny Dec<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>. 1801

Eliza Bonnel Daughter to Mary deceased  
was born Aug<sup>t</sup> 1800. & baptised Dec<sup>r</sup> 4.

1801 as above Jean Bready being sponsor

Alex<sup>r</sup> Young & An his wife was born  
& baptised Feb<sup>r</sup> sab.

Jeany Johnston Daughter to Adam and Nelly  
his wife

baptisd March sab 3<sup>d</sup>. 1802

William Francis [Son to Alexander] <sup>35</sup> Reed Son  
to Alexander & Elizabeth was born March  
and baptisd May sabbath 2<sup>d</sup>. 1802

Iane Lang daughter to [Lang] <sup>36</sup> Lang was  
born and baptisd Iuly sab. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1802 <sup>36a</sup>

Charlotte daughter to David  
and Charlotte Hogan was born Oct [3] <sup>37</sup> 30 1802  
baptised 26<sup>th</sup> December following.

I M Allisters child born and  
baptisd Dec. 1802

[64] 1803) Thomas Dodds child baptised Dec. 1802  
Robert <sup>38</sup> Millegan do by Mr Hamilton

Wm Weirs child baptisd

Wm Brouns baptisd March 1803

Mrs Battles do March 1803

Francis, Son to Alex<sup>r</sup> Buchanan, and

<sup>39</sup> Robert  
Margaret daughter to [John] Chesnut, were

<sup>35</sup> Erased.

<sup>36</sup> Erased.

<sup>36a</sup> This ends the record in Mr. Marshall's writing.

<sup>37</sup> Erased.

<sup>38</sup> "Ro" written over "Wm."

<sup>39</sup> Erased.

baptised April 20. 1803 by M. Henderson

---

Mary and Jean———twins.  
daughters of William Young;—and Iohn

---

Son to Mark Fulton, were baptised Monday  
May 16. 1803 by Mr. Pringle

---

1803 Aug 2d. Iohn Traquair Son to——  
Hall was baptised by Iohn Smith

---

Nov. 27. a [child] <sup>40</sup> Son of Robert Hamilton  
baptised named Peter by John Smith

---

1804. May 20. Sarah, daughter to  
John M<sup>c</sup>Allister jun. was  
baptised by Mr Th<sup>a</sup> Smith

---

June 24—Margaret daughter  
of Robert Milliken; John Son of  
William Forgrave; and Iames  
Son of Iames Quin, were baptised  
by Mr Hamilton

[65] 1804 Aug 12 William, Son to Alex<sup>r</sup> Young  
was baptised by Mr Tho. Smith

Sept 2 William Son to W<sup>m</sup> Weir  
baptised by Mr Tho Smith

Sept 9, William, Son [R] <sup>41</sup> to Robert  
Chesnut was baptised by Mr Tho'  
Smith

---

Sept 23 Elizabeth daughter to  
George Maxwell, presented  
by his wife (late Elizabeth  
Cunningham.) he not being

<sup>40</sup> Erased.

<sup>41</sup> Erased.

in communion.) Baptised by  
Mr Hamilton

---

1805

Feb 17 Alexander, James, and Francis  
Sons to Alexander, James, and John  
Read, three brothers, were baptised by  
Mr Hamilton

---

Feb 24 David Morris, Son to David  
Hogan; and Elizabeth daughter  
to John Warden were baptised by Mr.  
Hamilton

[66] 1805

March 24. Anne. daughter to Mark  
Fulton was baptised by Mr. Pringle

---

June 13. Catherine daughter of  
Adam Ralph, was baptised by  
Mr Laing. after Catechising.

---

June 30. Henry, Son to William  
Fairbairn was baptised by Mr  
Laing

---

Oct 27 Alexander Son of Alex<sup>r</sup>  
Young, and Charles                      son of  
James Queen baptised by Mr  
Laing——

---

Nov 8. James Son of W<sup>m</sup> Brown, William  
Son of W<sup>m</sup> Forgrave, and Elizabeth daugh-  
ter of                      Anderson, were baptised  
by Mr Pringle.—The last presented by  
the mother the father not being in  
communion.  
9 males 4 females



[67]

Ian. 12 Baptisms 1806

William Son to Iohn McAllister jun<sup>r</sup>  
was baptised by Mr Hamilton

---

Jan 20. Robert Son of Jane Buch-  
anan, and John Son of James  
Rob, were baptised by Mr. Hamilton  
The last presented by the mother

---

May 18 Henry Bryson Son of Robert  
Milligan baptised by Mr Pringle

---

Nov. 16 Robert, Son to Rob<sup>t</sup> Hodge  
baptised by Mr Shaw; being the first  
he baptised

---

Dec 14 Iohn son to Iohn Chesnut was  
baptised

6 males no females

[here follow 11 blank pages]

[From here on the pages are not numbered and the record  
runs from the last page forward.]

[79] Burials 1806

Jan 13. Mrs Kirkpatrick an old woman

March 23 Sarah MAllister 22 <sup>42</sup> 22 years <sup>43</sup>

May 29 A child of Mr Sinclair [th] <sup>44</sup> one day old

Iune 23 Mr Rabb child, a son one year—flux

Sept 19. Iohn Read son one year

Dec 15 Alex<sup>r</sup> Young oft a ten weeks

Sickness about 50 years

16 wife of James read in child bed

<sup>42</sup> Indistinct, 22 apparently written over "obit."

<sup>43</sup> Erased.

<sup>44</sup> Erased.

17 James Young of a disease  
in the liver—51 years  
5 males 3 females

[80] Burials 1804

Ian 26 Widow Slater, aged        years. many  
years out of her reason.—died th 24<sup>th</sup> inst

Feb 14—Martin a black man        of a  
decay        died the 13<sup>th</sup>.

July 4—        wife of John Eason—a Stranger—  
30 Cecilia, wife of James Hogan, and  
Sister to the late rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Marshall  
John, Son of Widow Hall, a child about a  
year

---

Burials 1805

James Alexander about 50 year

A Son of James Quin about 1 year

March 19. A daughter of Robert Milliken  
about 1 year

May 25. A daughter of Mr Bonnel about  
1 year

June 12<sup>45</sup> A daughter to John M'Allister jun  
of One year.

July 2 A grand Son of W<sup>m</sup> Hamilton 2 years

Aug. 9 Isaac Martin aged obit 55 year

Sept        A stranger's child

Oct 12 Betsey Austin 20<sup>year</sup> ^ of fever

18 John Warden's wife of fever 25 yr

.        5 males 5 females

[81] Burials 1800

Jn July a daughter of William Hamilton  
another

& ^ of John Alex<sup>r</sup> both of the Lax the last  
had worms.

---

July 20. Walter Meickeljohn of Ashma &  
Dropsey aged 64.

<sup>45</sup> Indistinct, apparently 2 written over 4.

Mrs Robs child July  
 Aug<sup>t</sup> 17 Peggy Rob hopy Cough  
 Sep<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>l</sup>lura's child a boy—

## 1801

March James Parberry  
 May A Child  
 A child of  
 Jun—James Thom  
 A Child of M<sup>r</sup>. Milligans.  
 Iuly Martha Richie  
 Nov<sup>r</sup>. James Slater  
 Widow Ross.

## Deaths 1802

Mr Weirs daughter Jan<sup>r</sup> 17  
 Mrs Hunter Ian<sup>r</sup> 16. aged 71.  
 Iean Iohnson a child died  
 Aug<sup>t</sup> 12. 1802  
 Mrs Appleby old  
 Rebecca Thompson

new ground

Wm MLure (a Stranger)  
 1803  
 Iune child of W<sup>m</sup> Fairbairn  
 July child of a Stranger  
 ——— child of W<sup>m</sup>. Weir  
 [Oct] <sup>46</sup> Strange child

## [82] Burials 1798

Preceding the fever 5.  
 of Plague died  
 Charles White  
 Mary Black  
 William M<sup>l</sup>alister  
 Iohn Sampson  
 Mary Jinsey  
 Adam Davie & child  
 James Conchy jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Jean Conchy drowned  
 Margaret Leslie  
 Thomas Cunighame  
 William Anderson  
 Margaret

<sup>46</sup> Erased.

99

Eliz Davy

W<sup>m</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lurg

Mrs Clarks Child a Son.

Benjamin Orr 2 Children of J. Pattersons

Alis twins—Milgans boy—Mrs. Clarks daght<sup>r</sup>Hally Austin Nov<sup>r</sup> [6] <sup>47</sup> 7.

[83] Burials 1796

Charles Whites wife Oct<sup>r</sup> 95.Sarah Miligens Child Dec<sup>r</sup> 95Isaac Till Dec<sup>r</sup>W<sup>m</sup>. Iuts child June 96.

Another child July—

Rob<sup>t</sup> Nicol Esqr. 96Samuel Miligan Oct<sup>r</sup> 96

Thomson Jany 97

Baker, June 97

Moses July. 97

Thos Patesons child July. 97

Hetty Henry child. 96

M<sup>c</sup>Corkels child Aug<sup>t</sup> 96

Mrs. Jameson

Mrs Cooper

Eliz. Ford.

Patison Cauen-welch

John Bain

James Paterson

[84] Aug<sup>t</sup> 6 1794Burials—M<sup>r</sup>. Patons grandson a sailor.

John Patesons daughter a child

A man from Jreland buried in potesfield

Sep<sup>r</sup>. B Brews wife bloody floodOct<sup>r</sup>. Iohn Patterson sen<sup>r</sup>. Intermitting fever

J

[Births James Robesons Child] <sup>48</sup>

Burials 1795 Mrs Rob child a Son

\* Erased.

\* Erased.

- 1 James austin April. Consuption  
 1 Fletcher grand Child July 10  
 1 11 Dr. Spence son aged 7. Dregs of Measles.  
 1 July 26 John Paterson Child.

His wife Helen

Mary M<sup>c</sup>Lure Aug<sup>t</sup>

[Thomas Spence July] <sup>49</sup>

1 ——— Barr. Aug<sup>t</sup>

Jannet White<sup>r</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 30.

Milligans Child Nov<sup>r</sup>

1 Dec<sup>r</sup> Jsaac Till

[85] Burials in the associate  
 Church Burial ground

1791

Nancy M<sup>c</sup>Culloch

a Daughter of M<sup>r</sup> Austin

M<sup>r</sup> Gamble's Son

1792

of M<sup>r</sup> Spence

2 of M<sup>r</sup> Clark

Sep<sup>r</sup> A child of M<sup>r</sup> J<sup>n</sup> Young

A Child (Son) of M<sup>r</sup> Patersons

Oct<sup>r</sup> 3 Betsy Nicols child a boy.

Child of M<sup>r</sup> Clarks smith

Aug<sup>t</sup> 3 M<sup>r</sup> Jamesons daughter

1793 6 months old

28 James Patersons Child

Sep<sup>r</sup> 4 M<sup>r</sup> Steels daughter of the

yellow fever John Steel

John Sutherland Thomas Ferguson

Marg<sup>t</sup> Craig ——— Gibson.

Agnes Young

Jean Gamble

Kathrine Austin

—— Anderson

David Clark

\* Erased.

## [86] Memorandums.

May 5<sup>th</sup>. the fast day absent W<sup>m</sup>. Buchan & wife

James Fulton, Mary. Roany. Rob: Thomsen,

Andrew Boyd mared Sarah Beard Jan<sup>r</sup>. 1781

William Burnet married Esther Crumbie March 5<sup>th</sup>. 1781.

Aug<sup>t</sup>. 11. United with Sundry Scotsmen

[undecipherable] land Hamilton

by Mrs Baker

[87] 1772.

Burried

James Dougherty of a Consumption

aged 30.———

Jsabel Eggar of a pleurasy aged 66.

Kineard of fits. aged 1 year & some m.

Cathrine Walker,<sup>50</sup> King of the chin-cough; aged

3 months & was interred in the Burrying

Ground at the New Church in Spruce Street

being the first ever there laid: This Ground

was opened for sad purpose June 26<sup>th</sup>. 177

1772

Willson daughter of Captain Willson

of worms aged two years & some

months.

Kennedy Son to William, a child of

a lingering illness.

Mary Ritchards of the measles died Oc

5<sup>th</sup>.

Cunighame a child buried Oc<sup>t</sup>.

[88]

Robert Coopers Child in Nov<sup>r</sup>.

Mary Reeds d<sup>o</sup>. died in Nov<sup>r</sup>

Tho<sup>a</sup>. Alex<sup>r</sup>. of a Consuption & pleurasy

decd. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>. aged 28

Robert Hunters Child died in Jan<sup>r</sup>

1773, aged 5 months, supposed

to die of a cholick

<sup>50</sup> The comma is here in the original, but the child's name was King  
(see Baptisms).

## Deaths in 1776.

W<sup>m</sup>. Cambels child a Grl of abt 2 years of a Consumption  
[89] Burials for 1777.

- 1 Matthews a child
- 2 Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Cormick of Cumberland  
of a pleurasy & Camp fever.
- 3 W<sup>m</sup>. Peden Camp fever.
- 4 J<sup>n</sup>. Bements Child.

Jan<sup>r</sup> 1792 D<sup>r</sup> Spenc daughter  
buried in the associate Church Ground.

Feb<sup>r</sup> 11 1792 Jsabel Clark  
buried aged 4 years died of the  
Hives

G Washington Clark  
John Gambles Child  
James Austin

(Mr. McAllister notes)

Copied from the Philadelphia Repository and  
Weekly Register published by David Hogan  
1804—July 21—Died on Saturday last (14th) near  
Carlisle, Penna, Mrs. Margaret Marshall  
Relict of the late Rev. William Marshall, Pastor  
of the Associate Presbyterian Church in this City.







JOHN H. CONVERSE, LL.D.

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### JOHN HEMAN CONVERSE, LL.D.

At the zenith of a career of singular honor and usefulness, John Heman Converse, President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, philanthropist and one of the most influential members of the Presbyterian Church, died in his summer home in Rosemont, Pa., on the morning of May 3, 1910.

The funeral services were held on the afternoon of May 5, in Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church, which was crowded to overflowing, many coming from other cities and from a distance. Interment was in West Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia.

The eulogy at the church by Rev. Dr. Charles A. Dickey was so appropriate and true that it is quoted here in part as follows:

“John Converse was not diligent in business to bring wealth and its perilous luxuries into a selfish life, nor to give himself the vulgar hoard of riches, nor to feed his pride, nor to flatter his ambition, nor to fill his worldly life with gratification. No. He strove to triumph in the building of a great commercial plant; he qualified himself as a successful financier; he filled with fidelity all the positions to which the appreciation of his fellow-men appointed him; he rose up early and retired late that he might consecrate all his time, all his ability, his whole self and substance, to the bettering of his fellow-men and to the triumph of the kingdom of his Master—Jesus Christ.

"This great company, gathered to express appreciation and affection, is small compared with the multitude that will rise up and call him blessed. They will come from dark homes that he lighted with generous deeds, of which only those who were cheered by the light had any knowledge. They will come from foreign lands in which his generous hand sowed seed of comfort and hope. The multitude will include countless men and women and children who found their way into the everlasting kingdom through the efforts that his loyalty and love made possible."

During the last ten years of his life Mr. Converse experienced very much trouble, which undoubtedly shortened his life. Two of his children were long and seriously ill from nervous prostration, which caused him great anxiety. In going through a dark passage in the shops of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, thinking that he was about to step on a level instead of the steep stairs before him, which he did not see in the dark, he fell and broke his arm. In January, 1906, his wife died; and in September of the same year came the failure of The Real Estate Trust Company of Philadelphia through the criminality of its president, in whom Mr. Converse, as a director, had had implicit confidence. The blow came to him and others in the directorate like a bolt from a clear sky. When the actual state of affairs was revealed he was stunned. He was among the first to rally, however, and it was his spirit that helped to save the day and put the institution on its feet. The losses were about \$5,000,000. Largely through Mr. Converse's effort the directors made up the losses and rehabilitated the institution, Mr. Converse contributing nearly a million dollars. But not the least disappointment experienced by him during his later years was his discovery that he was afflicted with Bright's disease, which he learned upon making application for a life insurance policy. The prospect that in consequence of this infirmity he might not live long enough to carry out his philanthropic projects caused him deep concern, and from that disease resulted the angina pectoris from which he died.

He was born in Burlington, Vt., December 2, 1840, the

son of Rev. John Kendrick Converse, who was pastor of the White Street Congregational Church in Burlington, and afterwards principal of the Burlington Female Seminary. John H. Converse's mother, Mrs. Sarah (Allen) Converse, was the daughter of Hon. Heman Allen, of Milton, member of Congress from Vermont, 1832-1840.

John H. Converse married, in Bay Ridge, L. I., July 9, 1873, Elizabeth Perkins Thompson, who was born in Utica, N. Y., December 16, 1838, and was the daughter of Prof. James and Mary Johnson (Bishop) Thompson. Mrs. Converse died in Philadelphia January 19, 1906. Three children were born to them, *viz.*: Mary Eleanor Converse, a graduate of Bryn Mawr College; John Williams Converse, who graduated at Princeton University, and is one of the directors of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and Helen Prentis Converse, who married Warren Parsons Thorpe, June 8, 1905. Mr. Converse was also survived by three sisters and one brother, *viz.*: the Misses Julia A. and Helen C. Converse, of Burlington; Mrs. George F. Simpson, of North Adams, Mass., and Colonel Charles Allen Converse, of Philadelphia. There is also an adopted daughter, Alice Page Converse, who was a cousin of Mrs. Converse.

Even while a boy John H. Converse revealed remarkable qualities; for his amusements were of a practical and useful nature. Railroads interested him even thus early. One of his first toys was a miniature locomotive constructed of wood by himself and run on wooden rails in the backyard. About the same time he printed a small newspaper. He sought the companionship of locomotive engineers and trainmen, spent his leisure hours about the railroad, and learned to telegraph in his early teens. When fourteen years old he took charge of the telegraph office at Essex Junction for a month during the regular operator's vacation; and he was the first telegraph operator in Vermont to read by sound.

He fitted for college at the Burlington Union High School and graduated from the University of Vermont in 1861, receiving the degree of A.B. He ranked high in scholarship and was elected to membership in the Phi Beta Kappa. He

was a member of the Lambda Iota fraternity. During his college course he became proficient in stenography, at that time a rarity. He largely paid the expenses of his college course by vacation work as telegraph operator at Troy, N. Y., Burlington and elsewhere; as station agent at Waterbury, Vt.; for three legislative sessions as official reporter of the Vermont legislature, and in sophomore winter vacation as teacher of a public school in Winooski, Vt.

After graduation he was for three years connected with the Burlington Daily and Weekly *Times*, published by George and Lucius Bigelow. Mr. Converse's position was that of business manager, but such was his versatility that he was constantly making himself useful in every branch of the work—reporting, taking night press reports from the war by telegraph, setting type, running the press or writing editorials. During that time he became a member of the College Street Congregational Church and was Secretary of the Young Men's Lecture Association. He was also a member of the Ethan Allen Fire Engine Company.

At that time Dr. Edward H. Williams, of the prominent Williams family of Woodstock, Vt., was Superintendent, in Chicago, of the Galena Division of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway. One day, while in the law office there of his brother Norman, he incidentally remarked that he was in despair because he could not find such a clerk as he needed in his office—one who was bright, clever, educated, responsible and resourceful. A law student, who had recently graduated from the University of Vermont, remarked that he knew just that kind of a young man, *viz.*: "John Converse." So Mr. Converse removed to Chicago in 1864 and was in the service of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway under Dr. Williams until the latter was made General Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, when Mr. Converse went with him to Altoona, Pa., to take charge of his office there. Among his associates upon or in connection with the Pennsylvania Railroad system at that time were a number of men who afterwards became prominent, including

Andrew Carnegie, George Westinghouse and A. J. Cassatt, President Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

In 1870 Dr. Williams left the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and removed to Philadelphia, where he became one of the firm of Burnham, Parry, Williams & Co., proprietors of the Baldwin Locomotive Works. He secured for Mr. Converse a desirable position in that establishment, and in 1873 Mr. Converse became a member of the firm. When the firm was changed to a corporation in 1909 Mr. Converse became the president of the company, and was its president at the time of his death. He was intrusted with the general business and financial management of the huge plant, as apart from the mechanical departments. How well he mastered these duties is evidenced by the wonderful growth of the plant. In 1866 the output of the works established by Matthias W. Baldwin was one hundred and eighteen locomotives a year. This capacity grew to the production of more than twenty-six hundred locomotives a year of a vastly improved and enlarged design.

In addition to the successful management of the business affairs of this great manufacturing establishment, Mr. Converse for many years held directorships and took an active part in the management of numerous financial and other institutions, to all of which he gave his active and constant attention, bringing to all his undertakings a well-trained mind and a wonderful aptitude in the conduct of financial affairs. Among these institutions were the Philadelphia National Bank, the Franklin National Bank, The Real Estate Trust Company, the Philadelphia Trust, Safe Deposit and Insurance Company, The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, the Pennsylvania Warehousing and Safe Deposit Company, the Philadelphia Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, the Pennsylvania & Northwestern Railway Company and the Winifrede Railroad and Coal Company. Since 1899 he was a member of the Board of Directors of City Trusts, and as such was one of the trustees of Girard College.

Though a staunch Republican, he never sought or held office or took a conspicuous part, except on such occasions as

the gas lease agitation in Philadelphia in 1905, when he lent his name and influence to a public protest. He was a prime mover in the insurgency movement in 1901 against the alleged bribery and corruption in the State legislature. During the free silver agitation he was President of the Sound Money League, and in 1893 he was Chairman of the McKinley and Hobart Business Men's National Campaign Committee.

Mr. Converse was a lover of music and an amateur violinist. He and his family constituted a small amateur orchestra. In 1883-85 he was Vice-President of the Philadelphia Music Festival Association and since 1901 a director of the Philadelphia Orchestra Association.

He was also a connoisseur of art. In his country residence was a gallery which included oil paintings of Corot, Daubigny, Duprez, Meissonier, Rousseau, Richards and other artists of similar rank. For many years he was one of the directors and Vice-Presidents of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, one of the Advisory Committee of the Art Association of the Union League, member of the Art Club, President of the Parkway Association and President of the Fairmount Park Art Association. In most of these societies are reminders of him in the shape of valuable paintings which he presented. The exercises over which he presided at the ceremonies of the unveiling of the Grant monument in Fairmount Park in 1899 were the occasion of a distinguished assemblage, which included President McKinley and cabinet, foreign ambassadors, Mrs. Grant and Miss Sartoris.

Mr. Converse was a member of many clubs and societies, chief among which were the American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, the Union League of Philadelphia, the Contemporary Club of Philadelphia, the University Club of Philadelphia, the Engineers' Club of Philadelphia, the Vermont Society of Sons of the American Revolution and the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution. For several years he was President of

the New England Society of Pennsylvania and in 1896-1898 President of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia.

He had a deep and constant affection for his native State and his alma mater. His annual visits to Burlington and his attendance at the commencements of the University of Vermont were among his chief delights and most valued associations. He was a trustee of the university since 1885, and was a constant and liberal benefactor of that institution. Besides two residences for professors which he presented to the college, he built and donated to the university in 1895 the large, handsome dormitory known as "Converse Hall." In 1899 he founded and endowed the Department of Economics and Commerce in the university. For several years he was President of the Alumni Association and Vice-President of the Phi Beta Kappa. In 1898 he gave the oration before the Associate Alumni, and in 1904 he made one of the centennial addresses. In 1897 the Board of Control recognized his eminent ability by conferring on him the degree of LL.D. His love for his native place led him to take an interest in movements for its betterment. He was a member of the Lake Champlain Yacht Club, which was formed for the purpose of attracting summer residents. He accepted membership in the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Vermont and was made governor thereof in 1908. He well maintained the spacious Converse homestead in Burlington, which has been occupied by the family some seventy years.

In addition to his service in the trusteeship of the University of Vermont, Mr. Converse was also a trustee of several other educational institutions, including Princeton Theological Seminary, Moody Institute, Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art and a Vice-President of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania. He was also a member of the Board of Education of Philadelphia and an honorary director of the Presbyterian Historical Society.

During all the years of his life since youth he was ardent and devoted in works of philanthropy and religion. For



fifty years he continuously taught a class in Sunday school. He was an elder in the Presbyterian Church at Bryn Mawr, Pa., and President of the Board of Trustees of Calvary Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. He was a member of the Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee of Philadelphia, Treasurer of the Christian League of Philadelphia, Treasurer of the Playgrounds Association, President of the Presbyterian Social Union, one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Sunday School Union, a member of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, a trustee of the Y. M. C. A., and during the war with Spain he was President of the National Relief Commission, organized in Philadelphia in aid of the soldiers and sailors called into service by the exigencies of war.

At the time of his death it was said that among Presbyterians he was long regarded as a prince of laymen, not only for his liberality in financing church enterprises, but also for the personal service he gave the Church and its institutions. He gave the Church his best, not only of his fortune, but also of his talents.<sup>1</sup> For many years he was one of the trustees and the Secretary of The Presbyterian Hospital in Philadelphia, and for that institution he built and donated the large central building known as the Administration Building. In connection with the missionary work of Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church he built and donated a hospital at Miraj, India, and it is due largely to his efforts that the Bryn Mawr and Calvary Presbyterian Churches have for years supported missionaries in Japan, Korea, Alaska, the far western states and elsewhere. Among his many other large donations were a dormitory for Westminster College,

<sup>1</sup>In a tribute to Mr. Converse at the 1910 Commencement of the University of Vermont Mr. Darwin P. Kingsley, of the New York Life Insurance Company, said: "The present Governor of Pennsylvania (Mr. Stuart) once said of Mr. Converse to me something like this, 'John H. Converse does a good deal more than simply give money to worthy causes; he shovels coal,' meaning that he did the constructive and troublesome work which makes large drafts on a man's vitality and time."

Salt Lake City, Utah, and a dormitory marked "Converse Hall" for the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary at Coyoacan, Mexico. His contributions to church and philanthropic work during the last ten years of his life amounted to a very large part of his income, and for a number of years he largely supported evangelistic work.

In 1901 Mr. Converse was Vice Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly and at the time of his death was President of the Board of Trustees of the General Assembly and Chairman of the General Assembly's Evangelistic Committee, and also of the World's Evangelistic Committee. During the last years of his life the Presbyterian tent and open-air work in Philadelphia received much of his attention, and, chiefly through his efforts, it was very successful, so successful that the movement spread to other cities. This led to the \$200,000 endowment by Mr. Converse for the furtherance of a world-wide evangelical movement under the ministration of Rev. Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman.

The universal love and esteem in which Mr. Converse was held and the value of his lifework is perhaps best expressed in an editorial in the Philadelphia *Ledger* at the time of his death, as follows:

"JOHN H. CONVERSE.

"It is seldom the men who make the most stir, the self-assertive or the combative men, who gain the first place in the universal regard of their fellow-citizens. In any community like ours there is nearly always some one man to whom we gradually learn to look for counsel and example, whether in peaceful times, or in times of stress, and whose character and forceful energy and whose unselfish public spirit win for him, without his seeking it, a silent recognition as the 'first citizen.' Such was the recognition accorded in late years to John H. Converse. Though he had somewhat passed the summit of his activity, there is no one who will not feel to-day that the city has lost immeasurably by his death.

"It was something that he had come to be the head of the

greatest industrial establishment in Philadelphia, one of the greatest in the world, which has carried the fame of the city and of its industries everywhere, and in itself represents the best and highest traditions of this industrial community. But it was not as a representative manufacturer or employer that Mr. Converse was generally known; it was rather in the broad range of his interest in whatever made for the progress of Philadelphia, for social, educational and esthetic advancement, for philanthropic endeavor, for commercial and civic integrity, for the generous upbuilding of the city. He was always on the side of the builders, never of those who would tear down. He gave more freely of his time and energy to the public service than to his own great business, but always with a self-abnegation, a modest deference and quiet helpfulness that, while never shirking any responsibility, seemed to leave all the credit of achievement to some one else.

"Only those who have been associated with Mr. Converse in one or another manifestation of his varied usefulness can know the full beauty of a character that was superficially simple almost to austerity. Strong in his religious convictions, he made no public exhibition of them, save as his helpfulness found expression in its fruits. Unstinted in his generosity, his own right hand scarcely knew what his left hand did. He gave his aid in countless efforts of public betterment with the same invincible modesty with which he directed vast enterprises. Yet in spite of himself the community learned to recognize and to honor him, and to honor itself in the recognition of a type of citizenship so worthy to be held in reverent memory."

## THE PSALM-BOOK OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

BY PRINCIPAL ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, S.T.D.

The Four Walls of the City of God, the old theologians used to say, are Doctrine, Discipline, Government and Worship. The last of these we now discriminate into Prayer and Praise. But the line of separation is uncertain even now, and at first its existence was not recognized, as for instance in the Book of Psalms. While the whole collection is called "Praises" (*Tehillim*), yet at the close of the second of the five Books into which it is divided, we read "The Prayers of David, the Son of Jesse, are ended." And while something over a third of the Psalms are songs of praise, of which the CIII and the CXLV are the types, the element of prayer and supplication enters into the rest. But in Christian worship it is generally recognized that in prayer the varied wants of the congregation—some general and universal, others specific and individual—are laid before God by the spokesmen of the worshipers, while the praises of God for his unchanging mercies are uttered by the whole people in suitable forms, generally known and prepared beforehand, so that all can unite in them.

The Book of Psalms is the most wonderful body of praise-songs and prayer-songs in the world's literature. Antiquity has nothing to put beside it for a minute. It is unique because it is a poetic record of the unique history of the Jewish people under the leading of God. While all ancient peoples set out with a simple and ethical faith in God, the Jews, although equally with their neighbors exposed to the temptations which elsewhere reduced that faith to ghost-worship and mythology, and to a debased anthropomorphism which clothed the gods with all the cruelties and impurities of their worshipers, did, for some reason, overcome these temptations on the whole. Mr. Andrew Lang, in his valuable work on "The Making of Religion" (1898), traces this unique victory to the elevating influences of the Hebrew

Prophets upon their people. The Prophets themselves trace it to the direct influence of God on his elect people, the sending of the Prophets being one of his ways of doing this. The Psalms are, in their own way, the record of this battle and this victory. They tell of conflicts with the forces which made their kindred worshipers of brute and unholy power, and with the forces of despair and of fleshliness, and of victories won through the presence of a God of help and deliverance, who responds to every cry of his people. "The shout of a King is in them." Men speak in them out of a real experience of God, which finds an answer in the hearts of all ages.

The Jewish use of the Psalms in worship seems to have been confined to the Temple services. They were not even included in the Scriptures read in the Synagogue, nor do we hear of singing in any form in that service. Nor is it mentioned in the account of the first Church, in the period following Pentecost. It is said, indeed, that they "did eat their bread with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God" (Acts 2:46-47). But this is a reference to the *Berachoth* ("Blessings"), which were uttered before and after meat, and to which there are frequent references in the Gospels, including, I think, the *hymnēsan* ("sang a hymn") of Matthew 26:30; Mark 14:26.

The first mention of Christian song is Luke's statement that Paul and Silas in the prison at Philippi "at midnight sang praises to God, and the prisoners heard them" (Acts 16:25). But in that apostle's first Epistle to the Corinthians (14:26), to the Ephesians (5:19), and to the Colossians (2:16), it appears that the singing of God's praises had enriched the worship of the Church beyond that of the Synagogue, and that the Book of Psalms was used in this devotion. On the thorny question whether the "hymns and spiritual songs," twice mentioned along with "psalms," are varieties of the psalms, or other than the psalms, I shall not enter here. But, as Dr. Doellinger well says, the contents of the Book of Psalms fitted well to the situation and experiences of the Church of those days, for it was a time

of fightings and of fears for others than the Apostle; and the book is a garland of war-songs for the war in which men battle, not with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers and the rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places.

The use of the Psalms led to imitations of the Psalms, especially in that first age, when Greek influence had not imposed classic forms on Christian poetry. A large number of Christian psalms are found in the Syriac collection lately published by Prof. J. Rendall Harris, but these are probably of Gnostic origin. Very different are the three notable psalms of the Orthodox Church: (a) The Greek *Phōs hīlaron*, or song for the lighting of the lamps; (b) The *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, based on the song of the angels at our Lord's Nativity, and existing in both Greek and Latin; and (c) The *Te Deum Laudamus*, found only in Latin, and probably composed in Africa before the end of the second century, as Cyprian certainly has it in mind in one of his tracts.<sup>1</sup> These probably are but a handful out of a great body of Christian psalms, composed in the free rhythmic form used in the Hebrew psalter. They probably are the best, and were saved from the general wreck of their kind by qualities which fixed them in the minds of the Christian people.

With the rise of Greek influences in the Church, Psalmody gave place to Hymnody, in the classic forms of verse, based on vowel quantities. This in turn, in the Latin West, gave way to verse based on accent and rhyme, which we find in the great hymns of the Middle Ages. But the

<sup>1</sup> Its early date has been obscured by some editor having tacked on eight verses from Jerome's Vulgate, at the end of the original hymn, which ends with "in glory everlasting." All the quotations from Scripture and allusions to it, in the hymn itself, are based on the old Itala version, made centuries before that of Jerome. I showed this in an article in *The Andover Review* for July, 1890; and since that time an Irish manuscript has been found, which contains the hymn without the added eight verses. See also *The Sunday-School Times* for March 4, 1899, where a letter from the late Professor F. J. A. Hort is given sustaining this view of the *Te Deum*.

Book of Psalms retained a high place in the worship of the Church, and holds it still in the service-books of both the Roman Catholic and the Greek Churches. The Roman Breviary requires the recitation or chanting of thirty-one Psalms every week day, and thirty-seven every Sunday, by the clergy and monks of that communion. While much might be said against the mechanical and monotonous use of the Psalms in this way, and against their being recited in the bad Latin of an inaccurate version—not that of Jerome's Vulgate—we surely must be glad that their unceasing witness to man's immediate access to God has been on the lips of the priesthood of this hierarchic Church.

The first achievement of the Reformers in the field of worship was the restoration of the language of the people to its rightful place as the language of worship. As at Pentecost, it might now be said, "We all do hear in our own tongues" the wonderful works of God. The Bible was given to the people, and they were enabled to pray and praise as a Christian congregation, instead of watching a clerical service in Latin. In the reform of the Church's praise, as in other things, two ideals as to the method of reformation became manifest. The Evangelical Church, following Luther, aimed at the retention of whatever in previous usage was not open to objection as distinctly unscriptural, or as interfering with the edification of the people. On this conservative principle the Latin hymns of the Middle Ages were rendered into German, Scandinavian and English verse, and were supplemented by other hymns of the same general character and form. Sometimes these were suggested by the Psalms or other Scriptures, but they rarely aimed at an exact rendering of the inspired originals. Thus of Luther's thirty-six hymns, seven are free versions of Psalms, eleven are renderings of Latin hymns, and four are adaptations of old German hymns, while only five are original work. On this line the Lutherans have proceeded, until it is estimated that their store of German hymnody contains forty thousand hymns of merit.

The Reformed Church, on the other hand, proceeded upon

the conviction that the Reformation was a call from God to his people to return to his word as their guide in worship and doctrine, in government and discipline. "To the Law and to the testimonies! If they speak not according to this word, there is no light in them." So they passed by Breviary and Hymnary to find the substance of their praise in the Book of Psalms. They were fortunate in securing the services of the best musicians of that day, and some of the best poets also.

Clement Marot (1497-1544) was the best French poet of his time, and the first in the series of modern poets of his country. In his earlier years he was a child of the Renaissance merely, with a satiric attitude toward the abuses of the Church of Rome, and a scorn of its enactments. In 1526 he was imprisoned for eating flesh in Lent, and escaped only through the friendship of Francis I, in whose court he held a position. In 1532 he was prosecuted before the Parliament of Paris on the suspicion that he had had a share in preparing the violent "placards" against the Mass. Much of his earlier poetry is far from edifying, but in his later years he showed a more serious spirit. In 1539 he published at Paris his French version of thirty of the Psalms, in various well-known meters. To render any part of the Scriptures into French was regarded as showing a leaning toward Lutheranism. It implied the right of the people to have the Scriptures in their own tongue; and if the translator began with the Psalms, who knew where he would stop?

Marot was not a Hebrew scholar, but among his friends was Jean Vatable, Professor of Hebrew in the College Royale of Paris, who did much good work in the correction of the Latin version of the Bible according to "the Hebrew verity"; and it is believed that the poet was introduced by this friend to "the austere beauty" of the Psalms. This made his version doubly objectionable; and worse still was its immediate and general popularity. The king and his courtiers sang Marot's Psalms. The common people sang them in their evening walks on the *Pre aux Clercs*, and in their homes. Jean Bouchard, the Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, smelled



heresy in anything that could so quickly displace the ribald songs in which Paris delighted; and the doctors of the Sorbonne agreed with him. The King was obliged to forbid Marot to proceed farther with his translation, and the poet found it convenient to leave his country. He had met Calvin at the court of the Duke of Ferrara in 1536, and to Geneva Marot proceeded, and found a hearty welcome. The great reformer had already published a collection of metrical Psalms at Strassburg in 1538, with twelve Psalms by Marot and five by himself. He now invited Marot to make a complete version, and in 1542 appeared a psalter with forty-eight psalms by Marot, five by Calvin, and four by other translators, with music from German sources. But the climate of Geneva was morally too bracing for the pet poet of the French court. His enemies said he was expelled from the city for grave moral offences. The records show that he merely was censured by the Presbytery for forming one of a card-party. At any rate he left Geneva for Turin, then in the hands of the French, and died there in poverty in 1544.

Calvin now devolved upon his eminent associate and successor, Theodore Beza, the duty of completing the psalm-book of the church of Geneva. In 1551 thirty-four more psalm-versions were published by Beza, and in 1562 the entire Psalter. Beza had been a distinguished Latin poet before his adherence to the Reformation; and while he lacked the felicity of Marot in handling the French language and its rhythms, he did his work well. The literary quality of this old version has been much and unduly depreciated by modern critics, and especially by those who are either hostile or indifferent to the cause of the Reformation. Its authors were not men of genius, but they were among the best poets of their age, and Marot the very best. After long neglect his poetry is coming to its rights, and his superiority to the stiff and artificial poets of the next age is recognized. Nor, say the juster critics, was it the least of his merits that he turned the mind of the French muse to the great fountain of sublime inspiration in the psalmists of Judæa. Both his

versions and those of Beza are somewhat paraphrastic, aiming at literary expression rather than at reproducing the simplicity of the original. But the idea of each psalm is fully grasped, and the connections of the parts more fully shown than could be done in a more literal version.

The clearest proof of the merits of their work is found in the extraordinary hold it took upon the mind of the French people, not only of the Reformed Church, but even its enemies. It was a bulwark of the Huguenot cause. To use the language with which Father Faber looked back to his Protestant Bible, it became one of the strongholds of what the Romanists called heresy. It lived upon the ear like the sound of church bells which the pervert hardly knew how he could forego—a music never to be forgotten. The memory of the dead passed into it; the potent traditions of childhood were stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man were hidden beneath its words.<sup>2</sup> More than one Romanist version was made, to break its hold on the public ear, but in vain. The converts to Rome clung to it in spite of their confessors. Mme. de Maintenon, wife of Louis XIV, authenticated her Huguenot descent and education by her love of psalm-singing, and by her reluctance to go to Mass. Charlotte-Elizabeth, the German wife of the king's brother, delighted a Protestant painter by singing the Huguenot psalms under the shade of the garden trees at Versailles.

Some individual psalms were especially dear through their associations. The LXVIIIth was the Huguenot battle hymn on many a hard-fought field. In later days it was the rallying song of the Camisards. The LXXIXth was the first martyr-psalm, sung at the stake by the fourteen burnt at Meaux in 1523, and so loudly that the chanting of the priests could not drown their voices. Seven others—the IXth, the XVIIIth, the XXXIst, the LIst, the LXXIXth, the LXXXVIth and the CXIVth—share with it this sad but glorious association, as being the last words on the lips of

<sup>2</sup> Preface to "The Life of St. Francis of Assisi," London, 1853.

those who perished at the stake or on the wheel for the crime of rejecting the traditions of men and holding fast to the word of God. The effect produced by the psalms of the Huguenot martyrs, sung on their way to execution, was so great that the magistrates of Paris ordered that their tongues should be cut out before they appeared in public. Many a French family still preserves as a precious heirloom the little psalter possessed and used by a martyr ancestor.<sup>3</sup> The Huguenots sang the LXXIIIth as they bore Coligny from the disastrous field of Montcontour, seemingly wounded to death. It was the singing of the LXXXVIIIth which recalled Henry IV to the faith of his heroic mother, after his forced recantation at St. Bartholomew. The XXVIth was sung by the refugees of 1685, when they reached Geneva and safety. With every generation the book grew fuller of the sacred associations of a glorious but suffering past of the Church.

A large part of the charm of the French psalter was due to the Huguenot musicians, who wedded its verses to inspiring tunes. These ranked among the best tone-masters of their age, and nobly they served the Reformed Churches. First among them comes Louis Bourgeois, who had followed Calvin to Geneva, and was made the Precentor of the cathedral church of St. Peter, in which the Reformer preached. Before 1557, when he returned to Paris, he furnished eighty-eight of the psalms with appropriate tunes. In this he used popular airs, fragments of earlier melody, and even German chorales; but he used all these with the skill of a master. In the editions of the psalter for use in the church only the melody was given, as Calvin approved of no harmonization of tunes. But Bourgeois also published, for private use, an edition with the music in four parts. The Council of Geneva evidently regarded his work as public property as soon as it was used in the church. In 1551 he was thrown into prison for having altered some of the tunes "without

<sup>3</sup> A psalter, two inches long, and containing their Confession of Faith as well as the psalms, was made for the Huguenot ladies, who could hide it in their glove. Hence its name, *gantier-psautier*.

leave"; but Calvin had him out next day, and the alterations were adopted. By some critics the music of Bourgeois is ranked so high as to place him in this art alongside Calvin among the theologians. A clergyman of the Church of England has announced (and possibly published) a hymn-book, to which no other music than the eighty-eight tunes of this composer are admitted. In the new English Wesleyan Hymn-Book all the psalm-tunes are taken from the Huguenot Psalter.

Claude Goudimel is the second of the Huguenot composers who exerted a great influence on psalmody. A native of France, he proceeded early to Rome, became a singer in the Pope's chapel, and opened a school for music, in which the great Palestrina was trained. Returning to France, he became a Protestant about 1560, and in 1564 published an edition of the psalter of Marot and Beza, in which the airs of Bourgeois are given with emendations, and the music is harmonized in four parts. This, like the similar work of Bourgeois, was not meant for use in churches, but it was very important in its way. The French psalter was not merely a church-book, and the Protestants did not confine their psalm-singing to their public worship. It was their book of home and social praise, and the harmonized settings filled a great need. Goudimel's work differs in character from that of Bourgeois in greater floridity, but it also is the work of a master. Goudimel was one of the victims of St. Bartholomew.

But it was to Claude Le Jeune that the Huguenot psalter owed its final musical form. He began with ten psalms, with the music harmonized, in 1564; but his complete work did not appear until 1601, after his death. The beauty of its execution at once gave it suffrages of the Reformed Churches outside of Switzerland, where Bourgeois held the field. Later critics recognize in Le Jeune a great master of harmony, and a finer musician than Goudimel. His treatment of the melodies of the psalter is not revolutionary. He builds upon the work of Bourgeois, but he brings his peculiar gifts to bear in adapting his work to the popular

taste. It was *his* music which made its way into Germany and other countries, despite local traditions, and gave the Reformed Psalter a common character throughout Europe. It is said to have gone through more editions than any other musical work ever printed.

The work of the Huguenot musicians was of a higher order than was that of the Huguenot psalmists, and gave to that psalter its commanding place as the type and norm of the praise of the Reformed Churches. Their "grave, solemn measures and their strong sustained harmonies" caught the ear and won the hearts of Europe, even Roman Catholics and Lutherans confessing the charm they exercised. In 1573 Ambrosius Lobwasser, of Koenigsberg, rendered the French psalter into German verse, for the sake of introducing the French music to Germans. In 1637 the eminent poet Martin Opitz, and in 1713 the pious hymn-writer Ernest Lange, translated the Book of Psalms into German of the French meters, that they might be sung to that music. All three were Lutherans, and were censured by zealots of their own Church for this approximation to the Reformed. The version of Lobwasser, a translation of a translation, was adopted by the Reformed Churches of Germany, and was published in editions past enumeration, until it was superseded by that of Matthias Jorissen in 1798.

What was thus done in Germany, was typical of the acceptance of the Huguenot example throughout Europe. The Psalm-books of the Reformed Churches of Italy, Spain, Holland, Bohemia, Poland and the Romanisch-speaking Grisons in Switzerland were prepared on the French scheme of meters, and with the musical setting furnished by the Huguenot musicians. From Locarno to Edinburgh, and from Rochelle to Warsaw, throughout the great sisterhood of the Reformed Churches, on the firing line of the battle for Protestantism, the Christian people sang David's Psalms to the French tunes.

But every living language changes from age to age, and by the second half of the seventeenth century the vocabulary and phrasing of the psalms of Marot and Beza had be-

come to some extent antiquated. For the psalm-book was not, like our English Bible, the common possession of a whole people. It was the book of a minority—an heroic and intelligent minority, but still a minority—and therefore unable to fix the forms of speech for a whole country. Valentine Conrart, who undertook its revision, was a very notable French scholar. It was at his house that those meetings of men of letters were held, which, under the patronage of Richelieu, grew into the French Academy; and he was its first Perpetual Secretary. One Sunday he was too unwell to attend the church at Charenton outside Paris, where the Reformed worship was tolerated. He kept his room, read his Bible and sang the psalms of Marot and Beza. Some of his scholarly friends dropped in on him while he was thus employed, and found the vocabulary and phrasing of the old French psalms very laughable. As he had a Frenchman's keen sense of ridicule, he was moved to attempt something more accordant with the usage of his own time. His modernization of the old psalms, finished by his friend La Bastide after his death, was published in 1679. It retained carefully the meters of the early text, so as to maintain their adaptation to the old music; but the alterations in many cases were made with very slight regard to the sense of the original. This led to a farther revision by the pastors of the church of Geneva, in 1695, which became the standard psalm-book of the French-speaking Protestants, although some of the churches went on using the unrevised text until far into the eighteenth century, and a few used a revision of Conrart and La Bastide made by Pastor Beausobre, of Berlin.

In the nineteenth century, largely through German, English and Moravian influences, Psalmody gave way to Hymnody in the French churches; and the hymns of Pietet, Cesar Malan, Alexander Vinet, Theodore Monod and Eugene Bersier are among the best. In 1881 the General Synod of the Reformed Church of France appointed a Commission on Sacred Song, and in 1893 the result of its labors—a collection of Psalms and Hymns (*Psaumes et Cantiques*)—was

adopted. In this book there is a partial return to the early Psalter of the Reformation. Fifty-two of its Psalms, in a revised form, are prefixed, with the old music; and fifteen of the two hundred and forty-seven Hymns are set to the music of the Psalter.

The story of the Huguenot Psalter has an especial interest for us through its influence on the early psalm-books of England and Scotland. At one time it seemed probable that both countries would become Lutheran, and adapt Hymnody rather than Psalmody in their worship. The first books of sacred song—the “Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs” of Miles Coverdale, and the “Good and Godly Ballads” of the Wederburns of Dundee—are Lutheran in character. It was due to Wishart and Knox in Scotland, and to Ridley and Cranmer in England that both countries became Reformed about the time of Luther’s death, and therefore were psalm-singing communities. And the leaders of the reformatory movement in both were driven to Geneva seven years after that change by persecution at home, and there learned the new music of the Reformation.

The beginnings of a popular English psalm-book were made as early as the reign of Edward VI, by Thomas Sternhold, Groom of the Robes to that king and to his father. He tried to displace the obscene songs of the courtiers by rendering the psalms into popular verse, in the meter of such ballads as Chevy Chase, now called Common Meter. At times he rises into poetry, as in two stanzas of the XVIIIth psalm:

The Lord descended from above,  
and bowed the heauens hye:  
And vnderneath his foote he cast  
the darknes of the skye.  
On Cherubs and on Cherubins  
ful royally he rode:  
And on the wings of al the windes,  
came flying al abroad.

But his forty renderings are mostly homely, and lacking in the dignity of the Psalms. His chief associate was John

Hopkins, whom Antony Wood classes as the worst (*infimus*) English poet of his day. Metrically his sixty psalms differ from Sternhold's in having four rhymes to a stanza instead of two. His versions appeared mostly in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1551-1562. From these two writers the English psalm-book has been popularly called "Sternhold and Hopkins."

There were still fifty psalms to render, and half of these were Englished in meter, in 1562, by Thomas Norton, the first translator of Calvin's "Institutes." He also clung to Common Meter, giving this version a metrical monotony without a parallel. The rest were rendered by William Whittingham, John Pullain, Robert Wisdom, and the Scotchmen John Kethe and John Craig. All of these were among the refugees at Geneva; and Whittingham was the pastor of the church of the exiles in that city, and had much to do with the preparation and publication of the Genevan Bible, the first satisfactory English rendering. Both in their versions of the remaining psalms, and in alternate versions of psalms already translated, they show the influence of the meters and music of the French Psalter. They break very happily the Common Meter monotony of Sternhold, Hopkins and Norton, with lively and vigorous renderings, all of which found welcome in the Scottish psalm-book.

In Scotland the General Assembly of 1561 ordered the completion of the psalm-book published at Geneva by the exiles in 1558. The compilers of this Scottish psalm-book (Edinburgh: 1564) cut down Sternhold and Hopkins each to thirty-seven versions, and Norton to eight, with two by Marckant, also of the Sternhold school. For these they substituted versions by exiles of Geneva—sixteen by Whittingham, two by John Pullain, twenty-five by Kethe, fifteen by Craig, and six by Robert Pont, another Scotchman. This gave eighty-seven psalms composed mostly in the meters of the French psalter, and adapted to its music. Of the one hundred and eighteen tunes given, eighty-three are French or Genevan. Thus the psalm-book of the Kirk was in line



with that of the Reformed Churches generally, and escaped that monotony which made the psalm-singing a by-word in England. As a consequence it took hold of the Scottish people much as the French Psalter had on the people of France.

They sang the psalms in unison, the Tenor, not the Soprano, taking the Melody, and the Basses holding their breath at the high notes, or coming in an octave lower. It is said by Dr. William H. Stone (in Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians") that this sort of singing in unison is still to be heard in England "in a few village churches, and in many Scotch kirks."

The psalm-singing of that day was different in other respects from what became usual in later times. It was not the singing of a few verses interspersed with other parts of the worship. The people gathered into the parish churches an hour or more before the minister made his appearance in the pulpit, and spent the time in listening to the Scriptures and in singing psalms under the direction of the precentor, who was generally the schoolmaster of the parish. They thus acquired a strength of voice and length of wind, which had no equal even in their descendants of a later time, as we may see from one of Dean Ramsay's delightful Scotch stories. He says that a parish minister of the nineteenth century, after the preliminary exercises of worship, discovered that he had left his sermon in his study. He leaned over the pulpit board and told the precentor to give out the CXIXth Psalm, and sing until he got back from the manse, which was close by the church. When he reached his study he thought he might as well have "a draw of the pipe," as the Psalm was a long one. But tobacco makes its devotees oblivious of the lapse of time, and before he was done the "betherill" rushed in, crying: "Come awa, minister; come awa! They hae wrastled on to the ninety-second verse, an' they're cheep, cheepin' like birds." That Psalm would have been but a mouthful to the Scotchman of the seventeenth century.

A knowledge of music was general at that time in Scot-

land, as it came down by popular tradition from an earlier day, and was cherished in the parish schools. No one could obtain an appointment as schoolmaster unless he could instruct the children in Psalmody, as well as in other elements of a sound education. As the Scottish delegates to the Westminster Assembly told the English members, everybody in Scotland could read for himself, which was far from being true of the common people of England. And with this was associated an extraordinary intensity of spiritual devotion, not, of course, in the whole body of the people, but in a much larger proportion of them than Scotland ever knew before or after. Welsh, Bruce, Rutherford, the Guthries, Livingston, Frazer of Brea were the mountain-peaks, which rose above the general high level, and made possible such an army as twice marched into England in defense of the National Covenant—an army in which plunder and outrage, blasphemy and indecency were unknown, and in which the rough songs of the camp were replaced by the sounds of Psalm-singing from almost every tent, ere they settled into quiet for the night. The Scottish Psalter was one of mainstays of that national gravity and sobriety, into which the nation had been lifted out of the recklessness and lawlessness of its earlier time.

Here also individual psalms grew dearer through their associations. James Melville tells us that the XLIVth and the LXXIXth were sung in that dreadful year of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, when Knox was taken away from the head of his nation. But they sang the LXXVth when they got news of the defeat and wreck of the Armada. The CXXIVth came to be called "Durie's Psalm," because the people of Edinburgh sang it when they met their banished pastor at the Nether-Bow in 1582, and escorted him back to his home with bare heads and loud singing. The saintly John Welsh, Knox's son-in-law, sang the XIth, on his way to the unjust tribunal at Linlithgow; and on his banishment in 1606 to France, sang the XXIIIrd on the shore at Leith, as a parting song of courage and comfort. The LIst became the chosen psalm for Fast-Days; the CIIId

and the CXVIth for Communion; and the XCth for Burials.

But the old version of the sixteenth century was not constructed to last forever. Its faults grew more glaring with the lapse of time, with the change of modes of speech, and especially with the growing distaste for its colloquialisms. When the middle of the seventeenth century was reached, there had already been several other versions proposed for use, or actually in use. The Pilgrim Fathers sang that of the Brownist leader, Henry Ainsworth, published with music in 1612. The Puritans of Massachusetts used the Bay State Psalm-Book, first published in 1640, and probably the most clumsy version that ever came into church use. The first Stuart king of England, who thought equally well of himself as a statesman and as a poet, had his name affixed to "The Psalms of King David, Translated by King James" (1631); but the critics said that it was mostly the work of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. King Charles I tried to force it upon the Scotch, and forbade the printing or importation of any other Psalms. David Calderwood gave expression to the general opposition to this loose and highly artificial version in his "Reasons against the Reception of King James's Metaphrase of the Psalms" (1635), which compelled its real author to revise it, and in great measure to rewrite it, for a second edition (London: 1636). It was bound up with The Scottish Service-Book of 1637, popularly called "Laud's Liturgy," and shared in the utter overthrow of that insolent performance.

Besides these, editions of much merit had been published by Sir Philip Sidney and his sister (1587), George Wither (1632), George Sandys (1637), Francis Rous (1641) and Rev. William Barton (1644). The last two excited most attention; and when it was agreed that a new Psalm-Book should be part of that scheme of religious uniformity for the three Kingdoms, which was contemplated by the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, there was something of a struggle between the friends of the two versions. The House of Lords favored Mr. Barton's version and the House of

Commons that by Francis Rous.<sup>4</sup> The Westminster Assembly sided with the Commons, made a revision of Rous's version, and in 1646 had it printed and sent it down to the Scottish General Assembly.

The Assembly of 1647 was not so much in love with uniformity as to adopt it as it stood. It was much inferior in its musical possibilities to the Psalm-Book of 1564, as it represented the metrical monotony of the English Psalm-Book of Sternhold and Hopkins. Almost all the Psalms were versified in Common Meter; and while a few were in Long and Short Meter, hardly any showed the lively and vigorous construction peculiar to the Genevan and the Scotch psalters, and thus were adapted to the music of Bourgeois, Goudimel and Le Jeune.

The Assembly divided this "Paraphrase of the Psalms," as they called it, among a committee of revision, each of five members to revise thirty psalms, and to "set down his own essay for correcting thereof." It directed them to make use of the versions by Sir Robert Muir, of Rowallan, and by Master Zachary Boyd of the University of Glasgow. The former is still unprinted; the latter went through three editions in 1646-1648. This Assembly of 1647 also recommended that "Master Zachary Boyd be at the pains to translate the other Scriptural Songs in meter, and report his

<sup>4</sup>Francis Rous is a more notable figure than is generally supposed. His prose writings give him a place among the notable mystics of the Puritan period, and were republished on the continent in a Latin version (*Interiora Regni Dei*, Amsterdam, 1665) and commended by Pierre Poiret, the authority on mystical literature. He was one of the lay members of the Westminster Assembly. He sat in almost every Parliament from 1625 until 1656, and in Cromwell's House of Lords in 1657. He also was a member of the Protector's Privy Council, and had a great admiration for him, as the new Joshua, who was to purge the land of its idolatrous tribes, and lead the godly into triumphant and quiet possession. He was made Provost of Eton College in 1643, and Anthony Wood says he "was usually styled by the loyal party 'the old illiterate Jew of Eton.'" Illiterate he certainly was not, as is evident from his "*Mella Patrum*" (1650). His memory was revived a decade ago, when a high windstorm blew down a number of the old oaks he had planted on the grounds of Eton.

travails to the Commission of Assembly," that these might be sent to the Presbyteries.

The Assembly of 1648 sent down to the Presbyteries "Rouse Paraphraise of the Psalms, with the corrections given in by the Persons appointed by the last Assembly," and appointed a committee to revise "the labors of Master Zachary Boyd upon the other Scripturall songs," and report to the next Assembly. The new Psalm-Book was approved finally by the Commission of Assembly on November 23, 1649, and by the Committee of Estates on January 8, 1650, and went into use on May 1, 1650. Its revision had been so thorough as to make it entirely improper to call it "Rous's Version." Much of it was a cento from various versions, notably the XXIII<sup>d</sup> Psalm, the most felicitous in the book. In one respect it was a distinct retrogression from the Psalm-Book of 1564. Much more than two thirds of the Psalms are rendered in Common Meter, instead of the variety of meters and consequent adaptation to the Genevan music, which had distinguished the Scottish from the English psalm-book. To obviate this somewhat, a number of the old versions were retained as alternates, and these have been most popular with the people who have used the book. Such were the massive Cth by William Kethe, the tender, pleading CIId by John Craig, the impressive CXLVth and the spirited CXLVIIIth, both by John Pullain. But in spite of this, the psalm-book of 1650 suffers from the metrical monotony, which the editors of that of 1564 had tried to avoid, and in so far it was a departure from the psalmody of the Reformation.

As to the labors of Master Zachary Boyd on the other Scriptural Songs, we hear no more of them in the Assembly, although we know that he did not intermit his labors. This silence may have been due to the outbreak of the unhappy quarrel between the Engagers and the Protesters in 1649, which absorbed the attention of the Church to the exclusion of almost everything else. After 1649 no Assembly met for forty-one years. Partly also it may have been due to the unsatisfactory character of Master Zachary's work. He had

more zeal and fluency than poetic power or taste. He might be said to have been the forerunner of the Realistic school of poetry. In his paraphrase of the Book of Jonah, he makes the prophet say, on arriving in the whale's belly:

What house is this, where's neither fire nor candle,  
Where I do no thing but guts of fishes handle! . . .  
Among such grease as would a thousand smother.

Dying childless in 1653, he left all his property to the University of Glasgow, with the condition attached that it should publish his poetical works. It also has been said that the University complied with the terms of the will by printing a single copy, which they kept under lock and key. But this is incorrect, as it did not print any of his works, but kept his manuscripts locked up.

It is fitting here to observe that the Assemblies of 1647 and 1648 did not depart from the Reformed tradition in desiring to add other scriptural songs to the Book of Psalms. John Calvin, in the little Strassburg psalter of 1638, included versions of the Song of Simeon and of the Commandments, by himself. The first Genevan psalter (1542) retains these, and adds metrical versions of the Lord's Prayer and of the Creed by Clement Marot. In the complete psalter (1562) are given Marot's version of the Commandments, the Song of Simeon, the Ave, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Graces before and after Meat, all by Marot. The English Psalter, called after Sternhold and Hopkins (1560), include Robert Wisdome's version of Luther's "*Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*" ("Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear Word"); a version of the "*Gib Fried zu unser Zeit, O Herr*" ("Give peace in these our days, O Lord"); of Wolfgang Klöpfel, by E. G. (possibly Abp. Edmund Grindal); a version of the Athanasian Creed by Thomas Norton; a version of the Lord's Prayer, somewhat after Luther, probably by Bp. Richard Cox; and "The Humble Suit of a Sinner" by John Marckant. The Scottish psalter of 1564 contains nothing but the Psalms; but that of 1575 has five other songs; that of 1595 has ten; and that of 1634 has

fourteen. In this last were added doxologies or "conclusions," in the meter of each psalm. To this innovation objection was made by some west-country ministers in such terms as brought down upon them the censure of the General Assembly as favorers of Brownism. For this reason Robert Baillie watched the representatives of the Brownist or Independent party in the Westminster Assembly, and records that they sang the doxology along with the rest of the members.

The purpose expressed in the designation of Zachary Boyd to furnish metrical versions of other scriptural songs, was not carried out until 1781, when the "Paraphrases" were added to the psalm-book of the Church of Scotland, after a series of efforts at collection and revision, which extended over forty years. Some of these are adaptations of English hymns based on passages of the Bible; others are original work of Scottish authors, those of Michael Bruce being the best. It is said that Robert Burns assisted in the final revision, but the tradition is doubtful. It is certain that it was the work of the dominant party of Moderates, with whom Burns sympathized; and because it was in the tone and spirit of that party, it was unacceptable to many of the rising Evangelical party.

The Psalter of 1650, whatever its defects, won its way into the affections of the people of Scotland, as completely as did the Huguenot Psalter into those of the French Protestants. It began to gather its wealth of associations in the forty years which followed its publication, and which embrace the "killing time" of Scottish Church history. The restoration of diocesan episcopacy did not prevent its general use, for the Stuart kings took warning by the uprising of 1637 against Laud's Liturgy, and did not meddle with the worship of the Kirk. So it remained the psalm-book of all Scotland until the secession of the Episcopalian party after the Revolution.

Its verses were the relief of many a weary hour to the prisoners in the Bass or in Dunotter Castle, as they pleaded with God in its words for his speedy help to Zion, and for

patience to endure until his day came. It was sung by the martyrs of the Covenant as they mounted the ladder in the Grassmarket to seal their testimony with their lives. Alexander Hume, of Hume, thus sang the XVIIth; Andrew Sword and John Clyde the XXXIVth; Hugh McKail the XXXIst; Marion Harvey and Isobel Allison the XXIIId; James Renwick the CIIId; Donald Cargill the CXVIIIth. Margaret Wilson and Mary Lacklan, tied to stakes on the seashore at Wigton, sang the XXVth as the waters of the Solway rushed upon them to their death. Daniel McMichael sang the XLIIId at the Entrekinn, while he faced the muskets of the troopers, who shot him down with the sacred words on his lips. The outworn and hungry company at Rullion Green, surrounded by Dalzell's desperadoes, lifted up their voices in the LXXIVth:

O God why hast Thou cast us off?  
Is it forever more?

Peden, flying from one hiding place to another, found comfort in the XXXIIId:

Thou art my hiding-place; Thou shalt  
From trouble keep me free.

While preaching in a wood, during one of his flying visits to Ireland, he read the XLIXth, but forbade any to sing it who did not share the faith it expresses in the sheltering care of God and his just judgments. "Few at first took part," we are told; "but soon many broke out and sang with such force and feeling, that the like was seldom witnessed." The psalms broke the silence of the solitudes, where he and others like him dispensed word and sacrament to the persecuted people of God on the hillsides, and where at other times were heard only the wild notes of the curlew and the plover. At Drumellog, on that memorable Sabbath, the first of June, 1679, Claverhouse were seen by the sentinels to approach Loudon Hill, where such a pastor was preaching to a faithful people. As the notice reached them, they parted into two companies. The old men, the women



and the children proceeded up the hill to a place of greater safety, while the men of fighting age marched down the hill to encounter the merciless enemy. Both sang the LXXVith Psalm to the plaintive tune of *Martyrs*:

There arrows of the bow He brake  
The shield, the sword, the war.  
More glorious Thou than hills of prey,  
More excellent art far.

Those that were stout of heart were spoiled,  
They slept their sleep outright;  
And none of those their hands did find,  
That were the men of might.

So they sang, in stout response to each other, their defiance of God's foes, who broke and fled before a company they far outnumbered, and the archenemy, Graham of Claverhouse, barely escaped with his life. Ten years later, at the market-cross of Douglas, Alexander Shields gave out the same psalm; and then and there was formed the Cameronian regiment under the command of William Cleland, the poet-soldier, who had fought at Drumclog, and who was to fall in the heroic defense of Dunkeld by those stout fighters. About six months before this, William of Orange had landed at Torbay with his army of liberation, and had asked William Carstairs, the Scotch minister who had more influence with him (Macaulay says) than any other adviser, to lead the soldiers in worship. Carstairs gave out part of the CXVIIth Psalm, "in which the troops all along the beach joined, and this act of devotion produced a sensible effect." It was Donald Cargill's martyr psalm, and Carstairs may have chosen it for that very reason:

The Lord Himself is on my side;  
I will not be afraid;  
For anything that man can do  
I shall not be dismayed. . . .

In dwellings of the just the voice  
Of joy and health shall be;  
The right hand of the mighty Lord  
Doth ever valiantly.

Nor did these gracious associations end with that time of trouble. When Ebenezer Erskine must leave his church in Stirling in 1740, he gathered the multitude of those who went out with him into the Secession movement, under the battlements of the Castle, and sang the LXth Psalm. When Chalmers, with more than four hundred ministers of the Established Kirk, marched out of St. Andrew's Church to the great hall at Cannonmills, in 1843, leaving behind them their positions, their incomes, their homes, he called upon them to sing the XLIIIId Psalm:

O send Thy light forth and Thy truth;  
 Let them be guides to,  
 And bring me to Thy holy hill,  
 Even where Thy dwellings be. . . .

Why art thou then cast down, my soul?  
 What should discourage thee?  
 And why with vexing thoughts art thou  
 Disquieted in me?

Still trust in God; for Him to praise  
 Good causes I yet shall have.

So the psalm-book made its way into the affections of a devout, strenuous and spirited people, and took its place between the Bible and Burns as a household book of a nation. The Scottish settlers of Ulster carried it thither with them; and when the tyrannies and vexations of the prelates drove most of them over seas to America, they brought the psalm-book as well as the Bible. It was one of the ties which bound them to the land of their forefathers, and helped them to endure the perils and toils, the isolations and deprivations of their frontier life. Quite natural, then, was their indignation when they heard that Dr. Isaac Watts, in his "Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament" (1713), had declared the Bible Psalms, which were associated in their minds with many a communion season, and many a dying bed, were unfit for Christian use as they stood. They had learned, as Dr. Watts never did or

could, the fitness of even the stern words of the Psalmists for actual human life. Their long endurance of the insolence and the caprices of prelatic tyranny on one side of the Atlantic, and their perpetual peril from the merciless red men on the other, had made such words intelligible and comfortable to them.

The controversy, which Dr. Watts unwittingly began, had effects which are still felt in the divisions of our Presbyterian Israel. The smaller and more conservative branches of the Church asserted not only the fitness of the Psalms, but their exclusive fitness for the worship of God's people. In both New York and Philadelphia, and in the Presbyterian Synod of New England, congregations were agitated and sometimes divided by the introduction of those Christianized Psalms, whose popularity was due partly to the influence of the Great Awakening, and partly to their adaptation to the poetic taste of the eighteenth century.

It certainly is true that the educated man, who opens the old psalm-book for the first time, and has with it no associations, national or personal, will be struck by its offenses against grammar, meter and pronunciation, although he will be much less so if he be familiar with the English pronunciation of the sixteenth century. Yet it has enjoyed the admiration of a larger number of men of literary eminence and cultivated taste than has any other body of praise songs in our literature. We all recall the fine use made of it, and of the music to which the Scottish people sang it, in Robert Burns's "Cotter's Saturday Night":

The cheerfu' supper done, wi' serious face,  
 They, round the ingle, form a circle wide;  
 The sire turns o'er, wi' patriarchal grace,  
 The big ha' Bible, ance his father's pride;  
 His bonnet rev'rently is laid aside,  
 His lyart haffets wearing thin and bare;  
 Those strains that once did sweet in Zion glide,  
 He wales a portion with judicious care;  
 And "Let us worship God!" he says, with solemn air.

They chant their artless notes in simple guise;  
 They tune their hearts, by far the noblest aim;  
 Perhaps "Dundee's" wild-warbling measures rise,  
 Or plaintive "Martyrs," worthy of the name;  
 Or noble "Elgin" beats the heavenward flame,  
 The sweetest far of Scotia's holy lays:  
 Compared with these, Italian trills are tame;  
 The tickled ear no heartfelt raptures raise;  
 Nae unison hae they with our Creator's praise.

Thomas Campbell protested publicly against the proposal to modernize it. Sir Walter Scott, on the same occasion, wrote to the chairman of the General Assembly's Committee on Psalmody, hoping that "whatever change might be made, it would be with a lenient hand. Its expression, though homely, is plain, forcible and intelligible, and very often possesses a rude sort of majesty which would be ill exchanged for mere elegance." Its strong and familiar verses were Sir Walter's comfort on his deathbed. Archdeacon Hare was so much impressed by hearing Edward Irving read it to his London congregation, that he published a selection from it for use in the Church of England. Thomas Carlyle knew it by heart, and whenever in his histories anyone quotes a psalm, he gives his readers the metrical version, adding "as the Northern kirks still sing." The reviewer of Mr. Marsham's "Life of Sir Henry Havelock," in *Blackwood's Magazine*, expresses his regret that that brave and devout soldier, in worshiping with his men in India, had nothing better to sing from than a Baptist Hymn-Book—that he had not the Scottish psalm-book with its admirable adaptation to such situations as theirs and his. Mrs. Gaskell and Mrs. Oliphant, two women of genius but of very different theological training and convictions, both refer to the old psalms with praise in their novels.

Such praise as this could not be elicited by mere doggerel or clumsy versification. The Psalm-Book of 1650 must possess sterling merits, to lead such judges of literary quality to overlook its palpable faults. I rejoice in these testimonies, because for myself I must say that the psalms my mother required me to commit to memory have been to me a

*et æt*, a perpetual possession. Many a long ride over our American hills and prairies have I shortened by repeating them, while Dr. Watt's "Divine and Moral Songs," which she also had me memorize, have left no impression but that of their priggishness and their eighteenth-century mannerism.

The music of the psalm-book of 1650 was much less varied than that of the psalm-book of 1564, because of the much smaller variety of meters. Almost all but the short-meter tunes of the older work were condemned to oblivion. There was no authoritative setting of the psalms of the second book, as of the first; but the traditions of the Reformation psalmody were retained as far as possible. So in later psalm-books furnished with tunes, we find a considerable group of these, which go back to Bourgeois, Goudimel and Le Jeune. Some of these advertise their origin by their very names: Old XXIXth, Old XLIVth, Old LXXXIst, Old Cth, Old CIIId, Old CXIIIth, Old CXXIVth, Old CXXXIVth, and Old CXXXVIIth. Besides these we meet with tunes ascribed to the Genevan Psalter or its composers: Commandments, Greenland, Mayenne, Rutherford, Toulon, St. Catherine; and to the early Scotch Psalters: Abbey, Aberfeldy, Bon Accord, Caithness, Culross, Dumferline, Dundee, Elgin, French, New London, Martyrs, Melrose, Wigton, Old Winchester, Windsor and York.

Popular affection clung to the old Tunes, as to the Psalms which were sung to them; and many no doubt would have approved of the act of the Council of Geneva in sending Louis Bourgeois to jail for altering tunes which had come into use. It was a jest at such conservatism, that the Mothers in Israel were said to believe there were "Twelve Inspired Tunes," which David "composed when he put the Psalms into meter." These, if my memory serves me right, were Abbey, Dundee, French (which in America passes for Dundee), New London, Martyrs, Melrose, Old Hundred, Old Hundred-and-Second, Wigton, Old Winchester, Windsor and York.

Another point of excessive conservatism was the retention of the practice of "lining out" the Psalms by the pre-

centor, two lines at a time before singing. The Scotch members of the Westminster Assembly protested against the approval of such a practice in the Assembly's "Directory for Worship," on the ground that it was needless in Scotland, where the excellent parish schools had made reading universal. But the English members said it was necessary in England, and thus it came to be used in Scotland and Ulster, and even in America. I remember seeing, as a child, two good women who walked miles across the country to our Donacloney "meeting-house," past that at Tullylish, because our precentor still "lined the psalm," while that at Tullylish had ceased the usage. An Indiana pastor told me that on the day when the "lining out" was given up in his church, one good elder rose and left the church, and sat down under a tree within sight of the pulpit, where he "lined out" the psalm for himself, and sung it. Such facts are a warning on the line of Oliver Cromwell's famous admonition to the Scottish General Assembly: "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, to think it possible that you may be mistaken."

Two of the Presbyterian Churches have effected revisions of the Psalter of 1650. The Established Church of Scotland toiled over the matter through nearly the first half of the nineteenth century, without reaching any result, so that the unaltered psalm-book of 1650 is still used along with the Scottish Hymnal of 1870. The Presbyterian Church of Ireland has made a good but cautious revision, chiefly by adding new versions, some of which are quite good, although none are superlatively so. The United Presbyterian Church of America adopted a thorough but rather tame revision in 1870, which failed to give satisfaction, and a new psalm-book comes before their Assembly this year. It aims at a greater variety of meters than in the old book, and in this coincides with the taste of its western churches, and may be said to return to the practice of the Reformation period.

We all would gain much and lose nothing by a return to the type of psalm-book used in all the Reformed Churches of that heroic age, of which the French Psalter was the first great example. This would involve (1) the restoration of

the Book of Psalms, either in its entirety—which I should prefer—or in an ample selection, to the foremost place in our book of praise. Julian's "Dictionary of Hymnology" (London: 1892) enumerates over three hundred and fifty partial or complete metrical versions of the Book of Psalms in the English language. A good number of these are the work of our finest devotional poets—of John Milton, George Herbert, John Keble, Henry Francis Lyte, Harriet Auber, James Montgomery, Sir Henry Baker, Benjamin Hall Kennedy, Horatius Bonar, and others. From such an array it surely is possible to collect versions of poetic merit, faithful to the text, and capable of being sung to the best music. (2) The addition of other songs of praise, strictly scriptural in character, in accordance with the tradition of the Reformed Churches of every land, from Calvin's Strassburg Psalter of 1538, down to our own times. It is my conviction that the departure from this tradition by conservative Presbyterians has been the outcome of a controversy provoked by the denial of the fitness of the Psalms of the Bible for Christian worship; and that the feeling on this point has been intensified by the dropping of the Psalms from their old place of honor in our modern hymnaries. As the fathers used to say, we need to be on our guard against both "right-hand and left-hand defections" here. Dr. William Sanday says that history is the dove with the olive branch in her beak, showing us the wrongfulness of the extremes which sunder us into parties. (3) A return to the grand music of the Reformed Church in its heroic days, which never has been surpassed in either solid merit or popular quality. The work of Bourgeois, Goudimel and Le Jeune was a gift of God to the Reformed Churches. They were raised up for a divine service, and we are despising our birthright when we turn our backs upon them to find a substitute in German or Anglican compositions, which are essentially alien to our Reformed spirit.

What has induced me to undertake this paper is the hope that it may be a contribution to Presbyterian reunion, by showing on what ground our fathers stood, and on what we

also may take our stand in the united maintenance of the great truths, which to-day are so widely, vehemently and fundamentally disputed. Even if there are points on which we shall be unable to "see eye to eye," can we not be content with the old Scottish practice of "declaring our separation from" the things to which we cannot agree, without severing from the communion of our brethren? When Dr. Henry Cook objected to the use of the Paraphrases in the churches of the Irish General Assembly, he cut them out of his own copy of the psalm-book and sewed them to the binding of every copy in his pulpit, to make sure they would not be given out in his absence. But he did not leave the Church on that account, while he thus "declared his separation" from current usage. So may we take away the reproach of Presbyterianism, as capable of division rather than of unity, as is shown by the existence, first and last, of twenty-eight separate Churches of our name in this country.



ANNUAL SERMON PREACHED BEFORE THE PRES-  
BYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY ON SUNDAY,  
FEBRUARY 20, 1910, IN THE PRINCETON  
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,  
PHILADELPHIA,

BY THE PASTOR, REV. H. ALFORD BOGGS.

GLIMPSES OF THE OLD SCOTTISH KIRK.

Deuteronomy 32:7. Remember the days of old; consider the years of many generations.

The Presbyterian Historical Society's work is a sermon on this text. A too literal interpretation is sometimes given to that Apostolic word, "Forgetting the things which are behind." The Apostle himself did not literally interpret that word; the past for him became an inspiration for the present and the future. Some things he never forgot; the vision of the Damascus road, the fellowship of Christ in the seclusion of Arabia, his vow of service, his pledges of obedience—these were things of the past, and yet they were really in the present. Those who never study the past will be but poor workers in the present, and ill interpreters of the future.

The Presbyterian Historical Society seeks to preserve the memory and the memorials of the past. It gently insists that the church which it seeks to serve is a historic church. The only church without a past, without traditions, without historic councils, without precedents to guide present or future action, was the Apostolic church. That was a Christian church without a past. At once a rather dangerous generalization might be made: "Because they were a church without a past, therefore their work was so splendid, so magnificent; they were unhampered by a past." If they were unhampered by a past, they were also unhelped by a past; unhelped by the mistakes or the successes of those who had gone before. However the Jews might have admired Mel-

chizedek, because he was without father or mother, his condition was really unfortunate.

It is not the Apostolic Church without a past of which we are to speak, but rather the Presbyterian Church with its past; and it is of the past that we are to think. The story of the past of a life or of an institution is at once the story of its glory and its shame. The history of the Presbyterian Church is the record of its glory—a glory which enkindles legitimate pride. But there is also something of shame in the record of its history, which should foster a true humility of spirit. The past is there, with its glory and its shame; the past is there, that the present may improve upon it. It demands not our loyalty alone, but our study. It should not be an iron band upon the present, holding it back, but it is there that the present and the future may excel it.

With such thoughts let us take a few glimpses at the old Scottish Kirk as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That kirk was our mother. She nourished and brought up children, and one of her children is the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. You are conscious of that relation as you wander through the rooms of the Historical Society. The faces which look down upon you from the walls reveal a sternness which makes you think of that stern mother, the Scottish kirk. The books which are kept there beneath glass cases, with their yellow pages, their large, bold type, their long s's, spell out the phrases and the thoughts of the old Westminster Confession. The communion tokens which they have preserved carry you back, if you know your history, to the heather of Scotland.

Through the kindness of a friend, we have "The Book of the Kirk of Scotland," which contains the minutes of their General Assembly from the year 1560 to 1603. The volumes are ponderous, the spelling is ancient; many of the phrases have long ago become obsolete. One reads somewhat slowly, but the work is well rewarded, for he does get glimpses of the old Scottish kirk. There are times when you are conscious that the record is of the past, and of the church of long ago. The name of John Knox is mentioned on nearly

every page; he figures most conspicuously. You see him now as moderator, keeping order in the Assembly with a strong hand; again he is defending himself against those whose jealousy has inspired them to bring charges against him. He is busy drafting resolutions, or he is sent to the North Country to try some minister delinquent in either morals or doctrine. The sins of the flesh among the ministers cause the Assembly grave concern. The fallen minister was tried with strictness and rigor.

The wives of the ministers were not always faithful spouses. John Baron, minister at Grafton, was sadly unfortunate. His wife deserted him. His sad complaint is brought before the General Assembly, as a matter worthy of their consideration. John Knox is appointed to send out what we might call search warrants for the fleeing spouse. None perhaps better understood the feminine heart than he. He was married twice; his second bride being a maiden of seventeen summers, while he was fifty-nine. And the record goes that she was "extremely attentive" to him. It is a matter of surprise, however, when we read how he endeavored to develop her spiritual life by giving to her, copied in his own hand, devotional letters which he had written to other women. When John Baron told to the Assembly the story of his deserting wife, it was surely appropriate that Knox should be appointed to seek and search for the wayward Ann Goodacher.

Again we see John Knox standing before the Assembly with addresses to Her Majesty, which he had prepared at the request of the Assembly, in which are recited the wrongs and the grievances of the kirk. These were written in solemn seriousness, but we fear that they were often read by Her Majesty in jesting levity.

Ministers are brought before the Assembly and are sternly admonished. One is severely criticised because he was lacking in "ministerial gravity." Another minister is severely censured because in his sermon he did not always follow the text. It was then sometimes customary for the weaker minister to treat a sermon text as the apostles were enjoined to

treat cities: "If they persecute you in one, flee to another." But that unseemly sermonie flight the Assembly severely censured. One poor minister, for whom our sympathy would surely have gone out, Robert Ramsay, is suspended from the office of the ministry because he borrowed money to buy books; but he failed to return it.

There is a touch of far-away when you read the record which orders that a collection be taken for those brethren who were detained in galleys as slaves, because they were unable to purchase their freedom.

There is a touch of the near when the Assembly gives itself over to the problem of divorce. The rules prescribed for sessions in dealing with witchcraft lead you back to a dark and dreary past, but when the plea is registered that better financial support be given to the ministers, so that they shall not be compelled to live "like beggars" the record might have been written yesterday.

Back of that written record there were the men who moulded and shaped the policy of the kirk of Scotland. Men they were who feared God; they were stern, but they were strong. Their voice is the voice of protest. There are times when you feel that they are in the world to condemn the world. They were saints, but they were fighting saints. Dean Stanley, in one of his lectures, in a quaint way emphasizes this strong protesting attitude of the kirk of Scotland:

"The church of Scotland," he says, "sat in praise because others stood; it stood in prayers because others knelt; it was silent in funerals because others spoke; it repudiated Christmas because others observed it."

If it had not been so non-conformity would have perished. It was this spirit that made them strong. It made men like Knox, of whom, when he was still in death, it was truly said, "He never feared man's face." It made a strong, saintly character like Andrew Melville, who, when he received the summons of his king and his judges, feeling the nearness of death, made answer: "I go to obey a greater summons from a greater king." It made men like John Brown, who, as a

boy, studied his Latin and Greek Testament as he herded sheep, who afterwards became a preacher of wonderful power; who drew from David Hume, skeptic though he was, this word: "I like that man, because he preaches as if he had Jesus Christ right at his elbow." It made for Scotland her martyr heroes, those who made the heather of Scotland bloom red with their blood, cheerfully given in a sacrament of loyalty for their faith.

The Kirk of Scotland exercises a strong and sturdy discipline over her members and her ministry. As we said, the kirk of Scotland was a stern mother, but her children were the stronger for her sternness.

Her severest discipline was meted out to witches. The religious folk of Scotland read their Bibles with a strict literalness. When the injunction was found in holy writ, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," they at once affirmed their faith in the existence of witches, and the church surrendered herself to carry out the command. The General Assembly is continually charging her ministers to be diligent in their search for witches within the bounds of their respective parishes. It is a dark story this; it is the record, not of the glory, but the shame of the church; this strange religious frenzy and fury against those whose only crime was, in many instances, the affliction of epilepsy, or a mind overcharged with morbid superstitions, continued in the Scottish kirk in all of its horror until almost the middle of the eighteenth century.

Dr. Watson, quoting in part from Dunbar's *Social Life of Former Days*, tells the story of this ghastly superstition with all of its furious frenzy:

"A poor old woman of Pittenween, terrified and tortured as suspected witches were, confessed that she had injured a man with the assistance of the Devil. She was, of course, in danger of death. Somehow she escaped from the jail, and reached a neighboring parish, only to fall into the hands of its minister. This ferocious bigot sent her back to her own parish. The mob seized her and dragged her by the heels to the beach. They tied her to a rope, one end of which

was fastened to a vessel in the harbor, and the other to the shore. While she swung there, they pelted her with stones. By and by they let her down to the ground, and beat her cruelly until they were weary. Then they loosed her, and with a mighty swing, threw her upon the hard stones and staves, while they beat her most cruelly. Two of her daughters came upon their knees, begging to be allowed one word with their mother before she expired; but that was refused; the rabble threatening to treat them in the same manner, they went back. The rabble never gave over till the poor witch was dead, and to be sure she was so, they called a man with a horse and sledge and made him drive over her backward and forward several times. When they were sure she was killed outright, they dragged her miserable carcass to Nicholas Lawson's door, where they first found her, laying on her . . . a door of boards, and on it a great heap of stones."

That was a mob, carrying out the law of the church, which they believed to be the law of God. Does it seem less horrible, however, when the thing was done in an orderly and decent way? There has been preserved the expense account for the burning of two witches, but the horror is hardly lessened:

	S	D
For twenty loads of peat, to burn them.....	40	0
For one boll of coals.....	23	0
For four tar barrels.....	26	8
For fire and aron barrells.....	16	8
For a staik and the dressing of it.....	16	0
For four fathoms of tows (ropes).....	4	0
For carrying the peats, coals and barrels to the hills..	13	4
For John Justice for their execution.....	13	0

You shrink from such horror, but the motive was to do God service. That they were mistaken we know, but by their mistakes let us profit. A religious faith for which we fear the burden and the strain of honest questioning is not a faith; it is a fetish. A book—be that book the Bible—to which we refuse the gaze of criticism; criticism which

is scholarly and searching, may become less the message of God to the soul of a man, and more an idol which in ignorance is worshiped. To ever insist that unbelief has but one cause, and that a devilish one, that is to repeat the mistake of the past.

I was impressed with a well-written word which comes from the pen of Principal Fairbairn, in his latest book, *Studies in Religion and Theology*. He is speaking of those men, scholarly in attainment, rich in culture, upright in life, who are estranged from the Christian faith. Of them he speaks:

"The men and the faith alike suffer. It would ennoble them, and they would adorn it, and increase immensely its power for good. There are men now living, concerning whom, were the wish of Paul ever a becoming or a holy wish, it might be allowed to say, 'For their sakes I could wish myself accursed from Christ.' To trace their unbelief to pride of intellect or to any save an honorable cause, is to do them a grievous wrong."

We have dwelt upon this, because the mistakes of yesterday are so prone to become the mistakes of to-day, with only slight changes in form.

The kirk of Scotland held the rod of discipline over those who were within the fold. There is hardly a meeting of a General Assembly or a session in which cases did not appear for discipline. The kirk of Scotland exercised in a real way, authority. Our mother believed that to spare the rod was to spoil the child. If her children still make mistakes, it is not because they were not properly punished with a strong hand.

As you read over the old sessional reports, you realize that times have changed. The congregations were not always orderly, even in the house of God. Here is a sessional report under date of "May 1st, 1608.

"Ordains Robert Henderson for striking his neighbor upon the haffet, (the cheek) in time of preaching, to stand in the joughs (the stocks) two hours; or else to pay 20 shillings. And also to compear before the pulpit; and confess his fault and crave God's mercy for the same."

We are left to our imagination as to whether the same Robert stood in the stocks or paid the twenty shillings; whether he met his neighbor at a more opportune season than the time of preaching, and with him settled the account.

Absence from church service became a matter for sessional consideration and discipline. The absentees were sometimes hard pressed to find suitable excuses. Here is one of interest culled from the many which Dr. Watson cites: "September 1st, 1639, compeared Henry Wittit, and Margaret Dawsons, his wife, who alleged that their door wanted a key, which was the cause they could not come to the kirk." Did the session accept the excuse, or appoint an elder to investigate?

They were brave, sturdy men who formed those sessions. Once assured of their duty, they would bravely attack it. The style of women's dress in the kirk became a matter for stern action.

"August 30, 1642, Concerning the indecency of plaids about women's heads in the church on the Sabbath, and that it is a means to provoke sleep; appoints it to be discharged, and six shillings exacted of the contraveners . . . and this to be intimated the next Sabbath." We half doubt that the order was obeyed.

Those who exercised with a strong hand the discipline of the church were themselves subjected to it. The minister and his elders were tried, sometimes annually. This was conducted in the General Assembly, or sometimes in the church, by a superintendent appointed for that purpose. It was a solemn moment, especially when the examination took place in the Assembly. The roll was called, and the minister whose name appeared first was then asked to retire. Once out of the Assembly, all were permitted to speak with freedom as to what they knew of his faults. He was brought back and allowed to speak, if necessary, in his own defense. We are sure, however, that they exercised something of the grace of charity, because it was an ordeal through which all were compelled to go. Some of the questions which are asked concerning the minister are interesting to us, and have been preserved.



“Is he a haunter of ale-houses?

Saw ye him ever drinking healths?

Is Saturday only his book day, or is he constantly at his calling?

Doth he preach plainly, or is he hard to be understood for his scholastic terms, matter or manner of preaching?

What time of day doth he ordinarily begin sermon on Sabbath? And when doth he dismiss the people?

Doth he ever censure people for idleness, breach of promise, or backbiting?

Doth he restrain abuses at penny weddings?

Doth he carry any partially, so that he may become popular?”

Dr. Watson comments on these questions: “Several of the questions are certainly obsolete, but two of them go to the root of the matter. Every minister may fairly ask himself whether Saturday be the only day he studies, and also whether he toadies for popularity.”

In a similar manner the elders were tried, or to use the old expression “delated upon.” What a strain such a meeting of session would be upon the pastor, where his session was composed of men, two of whom were not neighbors just in the way Jesus defined neighbors. But the God they worshiped was a God of righteousness. Their aim was to establish the kingdom of God, “perhaps not in joy, and perhaps not in peace, but certainly in righteousness.”

If ever an institution labored with zeal to establish a moral order in the land, it was the old kirk of Scotland. She wrought that men might truly fear God and keep his commandments.

The worship of the kirk had its fluctuations in reference to form. At one time ritualism sought for some little place in the humble houses of worship. Then in the fear of God, and for the sake of simplicity, it would be cast out.

Not comfortable pews, but stools were used by the worshippers. On more than one occasion these were used for other purposes than were designed by the makers. They formed a handy way to express contempt for the preacher,

or for his doctrine. There was lacking a certain reverence and quiet which pervades your church service. There were lacking surely the comforts which are offered the modern worshiper.

The sermon was the principal action in the worship. As emphasis was more and more laid upon it, it grew longer and longer. A text was something to exhaust. That process required patience and time. Fifty different heads to one sermon was not infrequent. The Scotch had a love for exhaustive, homiletical analysis, and one congregation found particular fault with their minister because he "did not raise many heads" out of the text. One minister spent a year and seven months on the second part of the XIXth Psalm. A certain Presbytery ordering her ministers to preach from St. James, the Apostle, in 1766, found they were still working at it as late as 1791.

Perhaps the most solemn feature of their worship was the sacramental service. Not infrequently it would last from ten o'clock in the morning till five o'clock in the afternoon. To the table of the Lord they would come, wailing out the strains, perhaps, of the XXIVth Psalm:

This is the generation  
that after Him inquire;  
O Jacob who do seek thy face  
with their whole hearts' desire.  
Ye gates lift up your heads on high,  
ye doors that last for aye—  
Be lifted up that so the king  
of glory enter may.  
But who of glory is the king?  
The mighty Lord is this;  
Ev'n that same Lord that great in might  
and strong in battle is.

In each hand was reverently held a token—a metal coin with a verse of Scripture, or some religious symbol upon it. These had been given out at the preparatory service. A token was as necessary as a heart of faith. Solemnity reached its highest when the tables were "fenced"; when the ministers with solemn tones and slow, would repeat this form:

“In the name and the authority of the eternal God, and his son Jesus Christ, I excommunicate from this table, all blasphemers of God, idolaters, all murderers, all adulterers, all who have any malice or envy, all disobedient persons to father or mother, princes or magistrates, pastors or teachers, all thieves and deceivers of their neighbors; and finally all such as live a life directly fighting against the will of God, charging them as they will answer in the presence of God, who is the righteous judge, that they presume not to profane this holy table.” It was with such solemn words still ringing in their ears that they would break the bread and receive the cup which symbolized the Redeemer’s love for them.

The worship of the Scottish Kirk was the expression of “the fear of the Lord.” It developed character in which conscience was enthroned. The kirk had authority because the members took their religion seriously. The message of the pulpit was never sprinkled with any rose-water solution. God’s law was given a central place. The hearts of men and women were the tables upon which that law was to be engraved. The minister was permitted to join in marriage a girl twelve years of age, or a boy seventeen; but no minister was privileged to join in marriage any who were unable to repeat the Lord’s Prayer, and recite the Ten Commandments. Their worship was often lacking in emotion, but it was always strongly ethical. They did not, after modern methods, examine congregations or cards to discover those who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ; but they did submit the lives of men and women to a searching scrutiny, to mark those who were bringing forth fruits meet for repentance. They were better thinkers than they were singers. A sermon that made no demand upon their thought never reached their conscience. The humblest member of the kirk, performing the most modest service, was a deep thinker in the things of God.

The power of the old Scotch kirk is better seen, not in her Assemblies, but in the persons who received from her and possessed those living truths which she taught. Her grandeur is this: that she was the mother of God-fearing men—men

from whose hearts sin had been purged away; whose seared consciences had been made strong; men who ruled with a rod of iron, but who prayed with a Gethsemane earnestness; men in whose lives emotion was repressed, but ethics were expressed. Perhaps they were not sure that they were saved by hope, but they knew that they were justified by faith. They were cold in their severity, but warm in their sacrifice. They did not always bless those who persecuted them, but they endured persecution, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ. They were great haters of heresy, because they were ardent lovers of truth.

The power of the Scottish kirk is better seen in the homes of the humble, than in the fierce discussions which at times agitated the minds of her divines. The family had its altar; the voice of the father, which the children heard in stern rebuke, they also heard in fervent, simple prayer. Scottish thought has nourished theology and literature, but it was nourished in the humble homes of those sturdy sons of toil, where the children were taught that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom.

So, for a fitting word to describe the glory of the kirk of Scotland, we turn away, in closing, from the deliverances of her General Assemblies, from the decrees of her sessions, to a plaintive song which comes from her sweetest singer. His life was broken and bruised, but his heart poured forth its song. Burns sang of Scotland, but his song is for the world. He sang the song of the Cotter's Saturday Night, but it is that song which celebrates well the glory of the kirk of Scotland, for she was the kirk of the home.

Then homeward all take off their several way;  
The youngling cottagers retire to rest;  
The parent pair their secret homage pay,  
And proffer up to Heaven the warm request  
That He who stills the raven's clamorous nest,  
And decks the lily fair in flowery pride,  
Would, in the way his wisdom sees the best  
For them and for their little ones provide:  
But chiefly in their hearts with grace divine preside.

From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,  
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad;  
Princes and lords are but the breath of kings,  
"An honest man's the noblest work of God."

## THE MONUMENT AT SYCAMORE SHOALS

The accompanying cut of the monument at Sycamore Shoals, is reproduced from a picture kindly sent us by Mrs. R. S. Howard-Smith, of Germantown, together with other material relating to the ceremonies at the unveiling.

The inscriptions on the monument are as follows. On one side of the base: "1780 . . . 1909 | Erected by | John Sevier | Bonnie Kate | Sycamore Shoals | Chapters D. A. R. | Sept. 26, 1909 | "The Sword of the Lord and of Gideon." |

On another side is: | "Fort Watauga" | First (Settlers) Fort | Built West of the Alleghanies | 1770 |." On another side: "Here was negotiated | The Treaty | under which Transylvania | was acquired from the Cherokees | March 19, 1775."|

On the shaft itself is a bronze tablet bearing the inscription: "In Memory of | the Patriots | who met here Sept. 25, 1780 | on their way to | King's Mountain | under | Campbell, Shelby and Sevier."

The monument is triangular in shape, with a base of white Tennessee marble four feet high, bearing a shaft nine feet high, composed of Watauga River rocks taken from the bed of the stream at Sycamore Shoals, and laid in cement.

## CHAPLAIN SAMUEL DOAK

Elsewhere we have referred to the Rev. Samuel Doak, who served as a chaplain to the assembled riflemen of the Watauga and Holston River valleys, at Sycamore Shoals or Flat. Ex-President Roosevelt, in his "Hero Tales,"<sup>1</sup> thus refers to this pioneer minister at the place of rendezvous: "At the gathering there was a black-frocked Presbyterian preacher, and before they started he addressed the tall riflemen in words of burning zeal, and urged them to stand stoutly in the battle, and to smite with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon.

<sup>1</sup>"Hero Tales from American History," p. 72.



THE MONUMENT AT SYCAMORE SHOALS.



Then the army started, the backwoods colonels riding in front."

It is not likely, under the circumstances, though barely possible, that Mr. Doak was "black-frocked," but the substance of Colonel Roosevelt's statement is true. Dr. Lyman Draper, in his detailed history of the King's Mountain battle and its heroes, thus gives the incident, which has been confirmed by the permanent and well-authenticated traditions of the country:

"Early on the twenty-sixth of September, the little army was ready to take up its line of march over mountains and through forests; and the Rev. Samuel Doak, the pioneer clergyman of the Watauga settlements, being present, invoked, before their departure, the Divine protection and guidance, accompanied with a few stirring remarks befitting the occasion, closing with the Bible quotation, 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!' When the sturdy Scotch-Irish Presbyterians around him, clothed in their tidy hunting shirts, and leaning upon their rifles in an attitude of respectful attention, shouted in patriotic acclaim, 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!' " 2

<sup>2</sup>"Kings Mountain and Its Heroes." Lyman C. Draper, LL.D. 1881.



## JOURNAL OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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### EDITORIAL

#### SYCAMORE SHOALS AND ITS MONUMENT

On June 14 (1910) a monument was unveiled at Sycamore Shoals in East Tennessee, which has much historic interest to Presbyterians, especially those of Scotch-Irish descent. "Sycamore Shoals" is the point where the "Over Mountain Men," or "Back Water" men, as they were called, rendezvoused for the march to "King's Mountain" on the extreme northern border of South Carolina, where they met and vanquished the British forces commanded by the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson.

The men who settled the mountain regions of East Tennessee and North Carolina, then included within the latter State, were nearly all of Scotch-Irish stock. Many of them were born in Ulster; others were descended from men of Scotch-Irish birth; and most of them were communicants in or adherents of the pioneer Presbyterian congregations of the section.

They were by hereditary tradition or direct experience hostile to the British Government of that era. The policy of that government—so widely different from that of the present—had embittered Irish Presbyterians against it. Petty prejudices, official and ecclesiastical persecutions, odious and oppressive discriminations, had destroyed within them the germs of loyal attachment, and sowed seeds of dislike. These, under the peculiar conditions in which the American Revolution found Scotch-Irish immigrants, readily ripened into hostility and hate. Thus, in all the colonies where they had settled, there were no more determined foes of the British Government, and friends of colonial independence than the Americans of Scotch-Irish descent. Indeed, the Revolution was in a large measure the aftermath of the illiberal,

bigoted and oppressive policies of English civil and ecclesiastical rulers toward Irish and colonial Nonconformists to the Anglican Church.

It followed, naturally and inevitably, that the settlements in which Irish Presbyterians predominated were intensely devoted to the cause of American freedom from British rule. With the characteristic sturdiness and valor of their race, they took up arms almost to a man, and gave to the patriots many of their most efficient leaders, and numbers of their brave and devoted followers. They contributed largely to the success of the American cause. Their descendants, both women and men, have been scattered throughout the nation, everywhere making some of its most useful and distinguished citizens in every sphere of life.

The monument to the heroes of King's Mountain at Sycamore Shoals is a memorial to their *patriotic* services, rather than their racial or religious connections. The movement was under the auspices of three local chapters of the large and widely spread patriotic organization known as "Daughters of the American Revolution," viz., the "Sycamore Shoals," the "John Sevier" and the "Bonny Kate" chapters. The regents of these chapters, respectively, Mrs. Jas. Halliday McCue, Miss Mayme Arnell and Mrs. Edward Pearson Moses, made brief addresses. The orator of the day was the Hon. Robert Love Taylor, United States Senator from Tennessee. The flag was unveiled by several direct descendants of the officers who led the victorious troops at King's Mountain, viz., Robert Asher Gray, descendant of Col. William Campbell, the commander-in-chief; Alfred Carter Crymble, descendant of John Sevier; Evan Shelby, Jr., and Shelby Thomas, descendants of Col. Evan Shelby; Margaret Robertson, descendant of Charles Campbell; and Samuel Doak, a descendant of the Rev. Samuel Doak, who acted as chaplain for the patriots at the rendezvous at Sycamore Shoals. Prayer was offered by the Rev. David W. Carter, a great-great-grandson of Col. John Sevier; and other clergymen officiating were Rev. W. H. Osborne and Rev. Dayton Dobbs. The band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Yankee

Doodle," and "Dixie," an interesting and characteristic combination, and the exercises closed by the singing of "America." As that hymn is usually sung to the tune of the British national anthem, "God Save the King," it added another striking feature to the musical part of this commemoration.

### ENDOWING CHURCH HISTORY

Among the worthy institutions of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches that are wont to be remembered in the testamentary bequests of the affluent, the PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY is surely entitled to a place. Its efforts to maintain its position, and fulfill the noble mission proposed by its founders, in a spirit and manner worthy of the great historic Communion which it represents, have been wrought so quietly that the intelligent benevolent men and women who might naturally be expected to remember it in their wills have rarely had it brought to their notice.

The result has been that its resources are far too limited for its just purposes and plans, and the expectations of the Christian public. These expectations have often been unjust, because based upon an *ideal* rather than an actual condition. It is not easy to "make bricks without straw"; and it is a hard taskmaster who imposes such a task upon workmen. Yet that is substantially the service which the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of the United States have laid upon this Society. The endeavors of the few devoted spirits who, under most trying conditions, have held the organization together, and kept it true to its high mission, have often been pathetic in the heroic struggles to keep to their sacred task. For, surely, sacred it is to preserve the memorials of the sainted heroes and heroines of the Church of Jesus, and transmit the "Acts" of our modern "Apostles" to posterity, with all the beneficent influences of their lives.

Under all discouragements and difficulties the Society has been maintained thus far mainly by the voluntary services and gifts of a few persons of scant earthly possessions, but

possessed of a noble enthusiasm for the Church's history and a sense of our high obligation to the past. But the time has come when the enlarged demands upon the Society, and the widening opportunities before it, should call out from the churches an adequate recognition and support. Those who are writing their wills may well consider whether they ought not to place their Historical Society among the objects of their benefactions. Those who have already written them may justly add a codicil in our behalf. Surely our cause and our record entitles us to be thus remembered. Then the great army of the living Church should at once come to our aid. An increased membership of one thousand, with the annual fee of five dollars (which includes subscription for the quarterly JOURNAL) would at once put us well upon our feet. We appeal for this relief. Shall we appeal in vain?

#### MISSIONARY TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH AND VITALITY OF CHRISTIANITY.

As we have read the historic records of the several pioneer Presbyteries sent us for review, we have been impressed by the great value of the testimony to the truth and vitality of Christianity which these and all like missionary laborers are and have been bearing to an unbelieving world. We do not often think of this, perhaps. Yet it is true that a living testimony to the truth, the saving and sanctifying power, and the divine and continuous vitality of the religion of Jesus Christ, is read in the self-sacrificing lives and labors of these frontier pastors of the great West and their associates in foreign fields. The "Acts of the Apostles" have in them a true and worthy succession. Would you have a strong—one of the strongest—evidences of the vital truth of Christianity? We point you to the devoted lives and services of our home and foreign missionaries. Aye, and we might justly add, the great army of ministers everywhere.

"Did Jesus ever live?" Fie upon the folly of the German skeptic who started such a query! JESUS *lives* in the self-sacrificing lives of missionaries, evangelists and pastors of

His Church. They keep unbroken the succession of apostolic zeal and pious toil, derived from and animated by the Spirit of their divine Lord and Master. Jesus said: "Because I live, ye shall live also." Surely we may reverse the terms of the text and say: Because ye live, know also that I live. A spiritually vital ministry and Church is the best witness of the truth and vitality of Christianity.

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### EDITORIAL NOTES

**John H. Converse.**—In the death of John H. Converse, LL.D., death has made a breach in active forces for good in the Presbyterian Church that it will be hard indeed to fill. The JOURNAL gives in this (September) number an excellent photo-engraving of this distinguished citizen, open-handed philanthropist and devoted Christian. Also a record of his life in an admirable paper which we commend to our readers. We are fortunate in being able to give this full and authentic history of this remarkable man. As one reads the story of his energies as expressed in the numerous associations with which he was affiliated and in which he was active, the wonder is, not that he should die at seventy, but that his great heart held out so long under the pressure of such vast activities. Who will fill his place? Who *can* fill it? It may be long ere any one man may be inspired to undertake such large service for Christ and His Church and for our race, though we might name some who *could* do this, in great measure, if they *would*. But, at least, we of smaller abilities and opportunities can so multiply our own zeal and service as in the aggregate to fill up the great breach in Christian usefulness which the death of John H. Converse has made.

Among the other causes with which Dr. Converse was associated, and in which he was much interested, was our Presbyterian Historical Society. He was one of its honorary directors, a generous contributor to its current funds and endowment.

**Death has lately** found once and again and yet again "a shining mark" in the circle of the leading Presbyterian ministers of Philadelphia, and warm friends of this society. Dr. Hughes O. Gibbons, of Old Pine Street Church, was first stricken. (May 25, 1910.) Close upon this followed the sudden death of Dr. Stephen W. Dana, for more than forty-two years the influential and beloved pastor of the Walnut Street Church. Before our hearts had rallied from the shock of this sudden taking off, there came, "like a bolt out of the blue," the death (June 10, 1910) of Dr. Charles A. Dickey, a beloved and honored pastor of "Bethany," and for twenty-eight years the efficient President of the Board of Trustees of the Presbyterian Hospital in Philadelphia, one of the ablest institutions for the cure and care of the sick in our country. We hope, in a succeeding number of the JOURNAL to present an adequate notice of the lifework of these faithful and successful pastors, all the available space in our present number being already taken.

**Principal Thompson's Paper.**—We have great satisfaction in presenting in this number of the JOURNAL the paper of Principal Robert Ellis Thompson, S.T.D., on the "Psalm-Book of the Reformed Churches." Such an article would give distinction to a number of any periodical, and our readers will, we are sure, have as much pleasure in perusing as we in publishing it.

**Dr. Benson's Resignation as Editor.**—The Publication Committee greatly regret to announce the resignation and retirement of Dr. Louis F. Benson from the editorial control of the JOURNAL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Dr. Benson took charge as editor soon after the JOURNAL's establishment, and has conducted it ever since with that enthusiasm, scholarly taste and success which have marked his administration of the Society's library. All these labors, like his services as librarian, have been without compensation. For these voluntary services, which have taken so much valuable time and energy, the Historical Society and the

Church at large owe Dr. Benson a debt, which we are glad to recognize, though it is impossible to pay. We are pleased to add that, while Dr. Benson feels compelled to surrender his editorial charge of the JOURNAL, he will still retain his office of Honorary Librarian.

**The Annual Sermon.**—It has long been the habit of our Society, year by year, to invite the pastor of one of our churches to preach the "Annual Sermon Before the Presbyterian Historical Society." The sermon for the current year (1910) was preached in the Princeton Church of Philadelphia by the pastor, the successor of the late Dr. J. Addison Henry, the Rev. H. Alford Boggs. The sermon is published in this number of the JOURNAL.

**Calvin Exhibition.**—The interesting and instructive exhibition prepared by the curators and librarian for the Calvin Quadricentenary, is still intact at the Library Hall and Museum of the Presbyterian Historical Society in the fifth floor of the Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia. It will richly repay a visit by those who are interested in Presbyterian and Reformed Church history, and as it must be dismantled soon, those who wish to see it, should call without delay. The rooms are opened (free to the public) from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M., except Sunday. On Saturday from 10 A. M. to 12 M. only.

**The interregnum** in the editorial control of the JOURNAL has caused an accumulation of books, pamphlets, etc., sent to the Society's library. These have not yet been reviewed, but due notices thereof will be printed as soon as possible. We count the review of such material one of the valued functions of the society's JOURNAL.

## RECORD OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY.

*HISTORY of the Synod of Washington of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. 1835-1909. Published by the Synod. Historian: the Rev. Robert Boyd, D.D. Assistants: Rev. W. Chalmers Gunn, Rev. Haren T. Murray.*

The Synod of Washington embraces the northwestern section of our Pacific coast, including Alaska. The volume before us covers the records of the planting of Christianity by the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in a vast territory once more difficult to reach than China is to-day. The story begins with the founding of the first mission church at Wai-ye-lat-poo by Marcus Whitman, M.D., and Rev. Henry H. Spalding and their devoted and heroic wives. This was as late as August, 1838, within the lives of many now living; and since then that territory, then the seat of a few Indian tribes, has become a populous and thriving domain. This unpretentious volume is a noble testimony to the work and worth of the Church's great Home Mission Board.

Not the least interesting and valuable part of the book is that which relates to the Presbytery of Yukon, the "farthest north," in Alaska. While our national statesmen have been busy in discussing the conservation of the natural physical treasures of Alaska, this book shows how our missionaries have been pushing forward the far more important duty of "conserving" the moral, spiritual and intellectual wealth of the present and future population. After all, they are the true makers of the commonwealth; and the conservators of its highest interests. The diligence and patient labors of the author and compiler in collecting this valuable historical material are worthy of commendation. This Synodical History contains a great abundance—perhaps an excess—of illustrations. The repetition of cuts of in-artistic wooden sanctuaries, without claim to architectural beauty, and built largely after the same model, may grow monotonous to the eye. But the heart sees in them the centers of the coming civilization and piety of great communities. Who knows what one of these may become in the future the historic "nursing mother" of a church famous in the annals of Christianity and Presbyterianism for its noble achievements; its pastors, elders and members of world-wide usefulness, influence and distinction; its vast liberality in the service of the country and humanity?



As one glances over these numerous cuts with a spirit in prophetic mood, he may read the mighty destinies that lie latent in these humble sanctuaries. Already in a few of the more populous centers and larger and finer church buildings we may see in fulfillment the prophetic day-dreams that one weaves around the plain wooden sanctuaries of our wide-spread pioneer territory.

So also one feels and reasons as he looks upon the numerous reproductions of the likenesses of the pastors and elders who have occupied and who hold these out-post sanctuaries for Christ. Some of them already bear in their seamed faces the marks of veteran service. They have been the close successors of Whitman, Spalding and Gray; they are the true pioneers of our far frontier. We honor them as the scarred veterans of a nobler war than ever wrought by the heroes of secular battles. Others in their bright, young faces show the marks of intelligence, energy, piety and faith consecrated to the great task of evangelization before them, and which continually enlarges with the inpouring stream of immigration. God bless them and speed them in their pious duty!

*ANNUAL REPORT of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland. With Appendix. MCMIX.*

An influential member of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, during a visit to America, dropped into the rooms of our Society in Philadelphia. As he viewed the large and valuable collection of portraits, pictures, historic relics, books, communion tokens, etc., assembled here, he remarked, "We need and must have something like this in my country!" Out of that impulse the "Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland" was born! The good Presbyterian returned home and began an agitation which issued in the organization whose third annual meeting and report is here noticed. This fact in itself would create in the members of our American Society a bond of interest and union with the kindred Irish institution. But there is a yet stronger bond in the fact that in a majority of the Presbyterian and Reformed Communions that unite to form the constituency of our Society, the bulk of the membership trace their origin more or less directly to the sturdy Scotch-Irish stock of "the ever green isle."

The history of the Church of Ireland must therefore touch closely the hearts of a multitude of American Presbyterians. We are pleased to note the evidence which the report before us gives of advancing prosperity and influence. And we congratulate our brethren of the mother country and Church on the same, and trust that their young and vigorous society may be adequately supported by the devoted and intelligent ministers and members of the Church of Ireland.

*A LECTURE ON PRESBYTERIAN PROSELYTISM OF ROMAN CATHOLIC ITALIANS. Delivered by Very Rev. D. I. McDermott in St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, December 5, 1909. N. p. [1910]. 8vo, pp. 16; stitched. Nihil obstat. Right Rev. J. F. Loughlin, D.D., Censor Librorum. Imprimatur + Patrick John, Archbishop of Philadelphia.*

No better proof could well be asked of the high success of the Presbyterian efforts to evangelize our large Italian populace than this "Lecture." Had the Presbyterian Church work for Italians been a failure, no such diatribe as this would have been issued by the Roman Catholic authorities. We are not disposed, formally and in detail, to answer its various charges; they are really not worthy of serious attention. We must express surprise, however, that this screed should bear the official imprimatur of such a prelate as Archbishop Ryan. He has been the recipient of so many respectful attentions from Protestants, and is held in such general respect among Presbyterians, and has such a well-earned reputation for wisdom, dignity, candor and courtesy that we regret that he should have put the seal of his distinguished approval upon such sentiments as the following (the italics are ours):

"The modern proselytizer *has his preceptor in Satan*, who said to Christ as he showed him all the kingdoms of the world, 'All these will I give Thee, if falling down, Thou wilt adore me' " (p. 9).

"That they do not believe that it is necessary to become Presbyterians in order to be saved, is evident from the fact that they are perfectly satisfied, if Italians only cease to be Catholics, that *it is a matter of supreme indifference to Presbyterians if the Italians become infidels*" (p. 11).

"Christ made himself God, yet *one may be a Presbyterian minister and deny that Christ is God*" (p. 12).

"In becoming a Presbyterian he would find *divorce tolerated and race suicide connived at*. . . He would find that the minister from whose lips he is to seek knowledge, *is constantly uniting divorced persons in marriage*, is sometimes himself a divorced and remarried man." (p. 13).

"Why, then, did they make use of these things [crosses, etc.] so thoroughly identified with the Catholic religion, unless it was to *deceive Italian Catholics and to leave them under the impression that they were not invited to adopt any form of Protestantism, but rather a reformed and purified Catholicism?* (p. 14).

"Have they no way of making converts except *through false witness*, no way of promoting the glory of God and the salvation of

souls except through *discredited and disgraced outcasts, and their evangel of calumny and hatred?*" (p. 14).

The above excerpts are in themselves a sufficient answer to the deliberate and public slanders of this "lecture," to any candid mind who knows or who cares to inquire honestly after the principles and policy of Presbyterians. We would rather believe that the venerable and venerated prelate, Archbishop Ryan, in putting his "imprimatur" upon such manifest misstatements, was guilty simply of the inadvertence of yielding his official signature through misplaced confidence in his ecclesiastical staff, rather than of a witting endorsement of what, from his knowledge of Presbyterians, he must well know to be *falsus in uno, et falsus in omnibus*.

*IN MEMORY of the Rev. William Rogers Richards, D.D.,  
Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, 1902-1910. Printed by order of the Session, February, 1910.*

This memorial volume recalls the tragic taking off of Dr. Richards January 7, 1910. When Dr. Maltby Babcock, his immediate predecessor, had died under most painful circumstances in Naples, in the meridian of his brilliant powers, it was at first feared that no one could be found to occupy his pulpit with success. But a successor was found in Dr. Wm. Rogers Richards, of Plainfield, N. J. After a highly successful pastorate of eight years, he was stricken with apoplexy without any previous warning of danger, and died on Friday, January 7, 1910. The sermon which he had prepared for the coming Sunday was found upon his study desk written and complete. Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke, a Vice-President of this Society and a former pastor of the Brick Church, read the sermon to the congregation on the following Lord's Day morning; a dramatic incident probably without parallel in the history of the American pulpit. The unpretentious but neat and tasteful memorial volume printed by the Session of the Brick Church makes no attempt at a complete and continuous biography; but, besides an account of the funeral services, consists of a series of tributes from the congregation, the Presbytery of New York, the secular and religious press and from individuals. All of these show the remarkable hold which the life and character of Dr. Richards had taken upon his contemporaries, and the high esteem and deep affection entertained for him. From these we glean that he was the son of the Rev. George and Anna (Woodruff) Richards, born in Boston December 20, 1853. He graduated with high honors at Yale in 1875, and after a year at Columbia Law School, New York, entered Andover Theological Seminary. In 1879 he was ordained in the Congregational ministry. His first pastorate was in Bath, Maine; and while there he was married to Miss Charlotte Barrett Blodget, daughter of Rev. Dr. Henry Blodget,

an eminent missionary to China. After five years service in Bath, he was called to the Crescent Avenue Presbyterian Church in Plainfield, N. J., a large and important charge. After a pastorate there of eighteen years he was installed pastor of the Brick Church October 26, 1902.

**DORRANCE INSCRIPTIONS:** *Old Sterling Township Burying Ground, Oneco, Connecticut.* Emma Finney Welch, 1909.

John and George Dorrance, with their families and the Rev. Samuel Dorrance, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, came over before 1723. The Rev. Samuel Dorrance lived between Stirling Hill and Oneco, Voluntown Township. We venture to copy the inscription upon his grave stone from among those which are here so carefully reproduced:

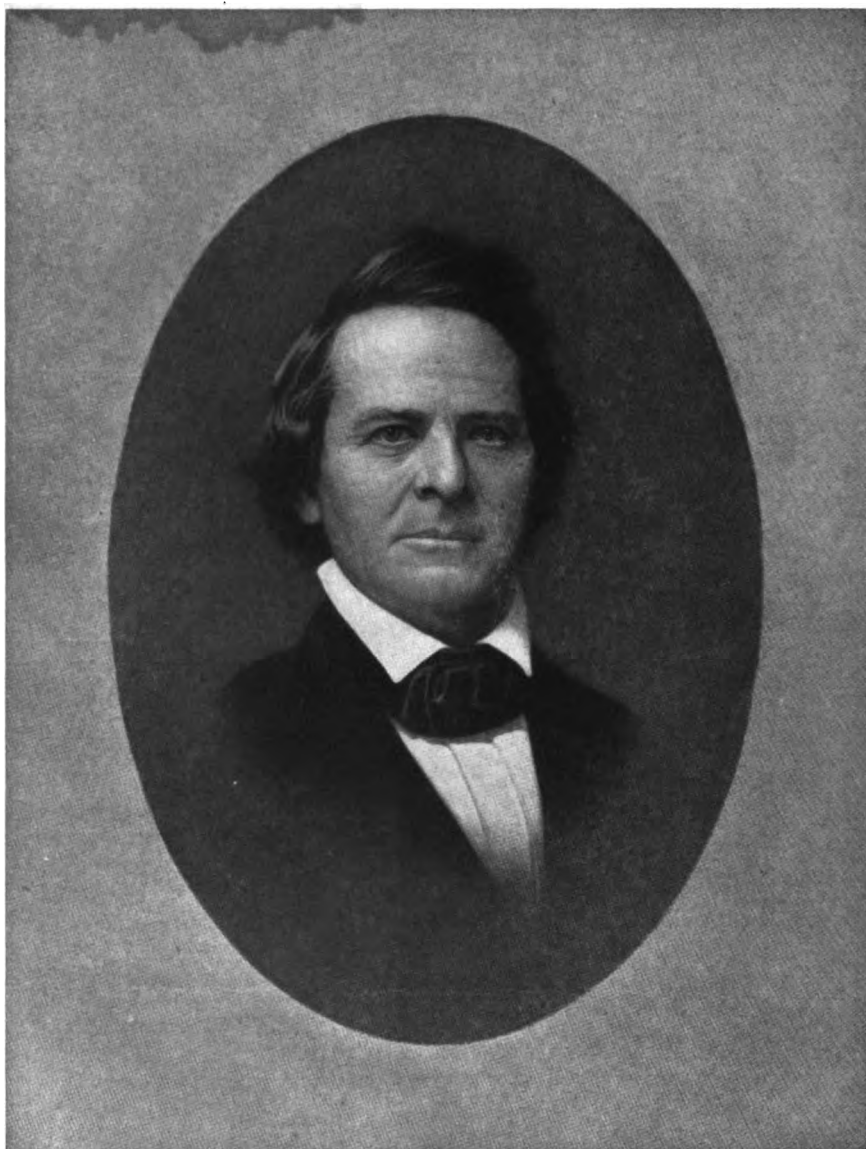
In Hopes of A Resurrection to Eternal Glory  
 Here lies interred y<sup>e</sup> Body of  
 y<sup>e</sup> REV SAMUEL DORRANCE  
 A.M. receiv<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Honors of y<sup>e</sup> Univer  
 sity at Glasgow in Scotland A. D 1709  
 & licenced to preach the Gospel by  
 the Presbytery at Dumbarton A. D  
 1711 was the first ordained Mini  
 ster over the first Church of  
 Christ in Voluntown A. D 1723  
 and continued to be thir faithful  
 Pastor until A. D 1770 and  
 Departed this Life November  
 12th 1775 Æ 90 years  
 All vain Endeavours You must quit  
 The Price is held too high  
 No Sums can purchase such a grant  
 That Man should never die.  
 The Lord reigneth  
 let the people tremble  
 He sitteth between  
 the cherubim.                      Roberts—sculptor.

**OVER AGAINST THE TREASURY, or Companions of the Present Christ: A Vision.** By Courtenay H. Fenn. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1910. 12mo., pp. 100; boards.

In the form of fiction, just spicy enough to give the flavor of imagination thereto, the author has succeeded in making a most effective appeal for larger consecration and more liberal gifts to the Church's great work of evangelizing the world. We can cordially recommend this little book to pastors and friends of missions as one well calculated to interest and instruct its readers and inspire them to more devoted work and larger, wiser and more pious giving.







*Engraved by S. H. Gimber, Phila.*

*From an ambrotype by Rehn.*

**JOHN CHAMBERS,**

**Pastor of the First Independent Church, Broad and George Street (now Sansom), Philadelphia.**

Published by Joseph M. Wilson, No. 111 South 10th St., Phila., 1858.

# JOURNAL

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### THE EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS, A. D. 1557.

BY THE REV. PROF. J. I. GOOD, D.D., DAYTON, OHIO.

#### PART I.

Protestantism was hardly born before it became missionary. It is to the credit of the followers of Calvin that they were the first to enter the foreign missionary field. In 1555 France sent an expedition to Brazil, then called "Antarctic France," under Villegagnon, which located itself on an island in the beautiful harbor of Rio Janeiro. Coligny urged the expedition, though not yet an openly avowed Protestant. Villegagnon, finding that the best of the colonists were Huguenots, sent back to France for more of them, and wrote to Calvin to send ministers.<sup>1</sup>

The Genevan Church sent out two ministers, Richier and Chartier, together with a band of Genevese artisans, among the latter several young men destined to labor for the evangelization of the natives. Among these young men was John Lery, the author of the book from which we shall quote, which gives the first account of Protestant missionary efforts. These colonists arrived at Rio Janeiro in 1557, and the young men were placed among the natives to learn the language.

<sup>1</sup> See JOURNAL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1909.



But soon Villegagnon began to return to the Roman Catholic Church, and got into a controversy with the ministers. Chartier was sent home, and later all the Huguenots were driven off the island. They went to the mainland, where they were kindly cared for by the natives. By January, 1558, they succeeded in getting passage on a ship back to France. Their sufferings on the voyage were terrible. Five of them returned to Brazil in a boat, and three of them were killed by Villegagnon, charged with being spies. These men may not inaptly be styled the first martyrs for Protestant missions. Another of the five preached the Gospel with such power that the Jesuits had him arrested and later put to death. Those in the ship became so starved that they would chew the leather of their boots. Finally after being in danger of fire, and of foundering in their leaky ship, they arrived safely in France.<sup>2</sup> Villegagnon returned to France a bitter enemy of Protestantism, and tried to engage in a controversy with Calvin. The colony in Brazil was captured by the Portuguese in 1560 and destroyed.

Thus failed the first attempt at Protestant missions; and yet it was not a failure. For it was the beginning and prophecy of greater things to come—of the great world-wide Missionary Movement of the Protestant Church to-day. The story of this first effort at Protestant missions is given in the following translation<sup>3</sup>

It is taken from "*Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique*," 1580,<sup>4</sup> published at La Rochelle, 1578. The Latin translation is "*Historia Navigationis in Bresiliam, quae est Emerica dicitur*"—a Joanne Lerio Burgundo etc., 1586. The following English trans-

<sup>2</sup> The story of this expedition is told by Parkman. It is also found in the "*History of the Reformed Church in the United States*," by the author of this article.

<sup>3</sup> The paper was presented at a "literary session" and public meeting of the Presbyterian Historical Society, by Prof. Good in the Society's Library Hall.

<sup>4</sup> In his book Lery also describes flowers, trees, fishes, etc., of Brazil. This explains certain references below.

lation of chapter sixteenth of these works was found in "Purchas his Pilgrimages," fourth part, published, London, 1625, p. 1325.

Although that saying of Cicero be held for a most certain Axiom by the common account of all men that "there is no nation so savage nor so fierce, that doth not know that they are to have a god, although they be ignorant what manner of god they ought to have," yet how this may appear to be true in our Tonoupinambaulty I do not sufficiently know. For they are ignorant of the true God, and neither acknowledge nor worship any false gods either celestial or terrestrial: and therefore have no public place where they may assemble for the cause of religion. They are ignorant also of the creation of the world, distinguish not days by names nor prefer one before another: they observe not weeks, months and years, but measure times by the moons. They are not only altogether ignorant of Scripture, whether it be sacred or profane, but also utterly without characters, wherewith they might be able to write the meaning of the mind. When I first came into those countries I writ certain words and sentences, to acquaint myself with their speech, and read them presently before them. They, thinking it to be a juggling trick, spake one to another in these words: "Is it not a wonder that this man who yesterday knew not so much as one word of our language (by the means and help of this paper which teacheth him to speak our words), should now so skilfully pronounce them, that they may be understood by us."

As often as we talked with them and happened to make mention of God, we said, that we believed in one God, creator of heaven and earth, who as he hath made the world and whatsoever things are therein: so he governeth all things at his pleasure. When they heard this, looking one upon the other and breaking out into this word "Teh" (which is a familiar token of admiration with them), they stood still, fixed and astonished. Moreover because, as we shall speak in his proper place, they are vehemently terrified with the noise of thunder (which they call Toupan), if, bearing with their rudeness, we took occasion thereby to instruct them and said, that that

was the God whereof we spake unto them; who, that he might declare his power, shook heaven and earth after that manner: they answered, that that God by whom they were so terrified was a naughty one. I do not believe that there is any nation in the whole world, which may be more estranged from all religion. Yet, that I may also declare how little appearance of light I perceived, among those thick mysts of darkness wherewith they are blinded, I affirm, that they do not only believe the immortality of the soul, but are also certainly persuaded, that after death their souls, who have embraced virtue (but they define virtue after their manner, to wit, to avenge them of their enemies and to eat very many), flying beyond the highest mountains, are gathered to the souls of their fathers and grandfathers; and there, in most pleasant gardens, lead a joyful life in perpetual delights, and dancing (this is that long peregrination of Socrates and the poet's Elysian fields). But contrarily the souls of the fearful cowards, who lived ingloriously, without the care of defending their country, are violently carried away by Aygnan (for so they call the devil) and live in perpetual torment with him.

These most miserable barbarians are woefully even in this life tormented by the devil (whom by another name they call Kaagerre). For I have sometimes seen them, even while they were talking, immediately crying out like frantic men: "Hei, hei, help us, for Aygnan beateth us!" Nay, they affirm that the wicked spirit was seen of them, sometimes in the shape of a cruel beast, sometimes of a bird and sometimes also in some monstrous form. And because they greatly wondered that we were not vexed by the devil: therefore, we, telling them that we were delivered from those torments by that God, whereof we often spake unto them, who was far above Aygnan and hindered him from procuring us any trouble. It sometimes happened that danger enforcing them, they promised to believe in God, but being delivered, they were unmindful of the promise. But that it may evidently appear, that the torments wherewith they are vexed are no pastimes, I myself have sometimes seen them so stricken with a shivering and quaking fear, remembering their misery, that swear-

ing through anguish, and clapping their thighs with their hands, they complained unto us with these words, "Mair Atourassap, Accqueiey Aignaro Atoupauo": that is, "My fool my companion, I fear the devil above all evils." But contrariwise, if any of us spake unto them in these words, "Nacequeiey Aygnan" (I fear not the devil), then, bewailing their condition, they said, "Ah, how happy were we if thereby we might be secured from him"; whereupon we answered, that "therefore they were to believe in Him who is mightier than Aygnan." But although, as hath been said, in the present danger they promised that they would do it, yet they presently returned to their own disposition of nature.

Therefore though our Americans confess not God with the mouth, seeing among themselves they are convinced that there is some divine power: thereby I gather that they shall neither be excusable nor justly take occasion to pretend ignorance.

But beside those things which have been spoken by me, concerning the immortality of the soul, which they believe, of the thunder whereof they are horribly afraid, and devils, by whom they are tormented (which three things are first to be noted): I will moreover add a fourth principal matter, that they have prophets or certain priests among them, which they call Caraibes, who going from village to village persuade those miserable men that they (because they have familiarity with spirits), give not only fortitude and courage to whomsoever they please, whereby they might overcome their enemies in war, but also that through their help, all fruits and those great roots grow, which, we have said, the American soil produceth.

Moreover (as far as I understand by the Neustrian interpreters, who have lived many years in those countries) the Tonoupinambaultians have this custom, that every third or fourth year they assemble together. At which assembly as shall immediately be declared, I, with a certain Frenchman named Jacobus Ruffue, and also a certain Neustrian interpreter, traveling far from home, turned into a certain village to lodge. The next day after, we prepared ourselves early in the morning for our journey; at which time we saw

the borderers came flocking thither from all places. So the inhabitants of that village joined themselves with them that came, and presently we saw five hundred gathered together in a certain void plat of ground. We demand the cause of that meeting, and saw that multitude divide into three parts. All the men went into a certain cottage, the women into another, and the children also went into a third. I, who had seen certain Caraibes intermingled with the men, suspecting that some unaccustomed and strange thing should be done by them, earnestly entreated my companions, that they should stand still there with me to observe the whole matter: which I obtained of them. The Caraibes, before they departed from the women and children, with good care forbid the women to go out of their cottages but diligently to attend to the singing; and also charged us to keep ourselves close in that cottage where the women were.

Being earnestly busied about our breakfast, and ignorant of those things which they purposed to do, we heard a certain low and soft muttering noise breaking out of the houses into which the men had severed themselves (for that cottage was almost thirty paces distant from ours), the women, which were about two hundred in number, standing in a heap. But the men lifting up their voices by little and little, so that their distinct words were heard of us exhorting and likewise repeating this interjection in a singing tone, "He, he, he, he," etc. We heard the women presently, with a trembling voice, singing the same interjection again, "he, he, he, he," etc. And they lifted up their voices with so great vehemency of mind, and that for the space of one whole quarter of an hour, that they drew us who were beholders into admiration. And surely, they did not only horribly howl, but also leaped forth with great violence, and shook their paps, and foamed at the mouth. Nay, some of them (not unlike unto those that are troubled with the falling sickness) fell down dead. So that I think that the devil entered into their bodies, and they suddenly became possessed with the devil. Moreover having plainly perceived those things which Bodinus writeth, in the book which he calleth "Demmoncoania," concerning the

ecstasy of witches, which he affirmeth to be common to all witches, who have made an express covenant with the devil and who are often violently carried away in spirit, the body remaining void of all sense, although also they are sometimes carried both in body and mind. And (saith he) that they never meet together in any place, but they dance, among which, as far as he could gather by the confession of certain witches, they all cried out together, "Har, har" (which very well agreeth with the "He, he" of the Americans). The devil crieth "dance hither, dance hither!" and others answer, "Sabbath, Sabbath!" that is, "A festival day or a day of rest" lifting up their hands and the crops of herbs or trees which they have in their hands, that they may show a most assured token of joy. They signify that they serve the devil with all their heart, and that so they imitate the adoration due unto God. For in the law of God, it was prescribed to the Israelites, that they should lift up their hands unto the Lord and show themselves before him. These things I say being certainly known, I gather that Satan is the lord of them both: and that they are led by the same spirit: so that the distance of places hindereth not, but that the father of lies may work here and there upon them who through the just judgment of God are delivered unto him.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Part II of this paper will appear in the next number of the Society's JOURNAL.

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE NINTH PRESBY- TERIAN CHURCH AND THE CHAMBERS INDEPENDENT CHURCH.

BY JOHN EDMANDS, Y.C. '47, Y.D.S. '51.

These churches had a common parentage. The mother church had a checkered and painful experience.

In 1798 Mrs. Margaret Duncan was returning from a visit to Ireland. The ship on which she had embarked encountered a severe storm, provisions were exhausted and for some days there was great fear that the passengers would not be able to reach home.<sup>1</sup> In her distress Mrs. Duncan retired to her room for prayer. And she made a sacred vow to God that if spared to reach the land she would consecrate herself to his service and would erect a church edifice for his worship and service. The storm soon abated and all on board were saved.

After her death in 1802 it was found that in her will Mrs. Duncan had made provision for the erection of a church building, giving full directions for its structure, and specifying that it was to be for the Associate Reformed communion, to which she belonged. The foundations of the building were laid in July 1805. Owing in part to the failure of the contractor, the completion of the building was much delayed, and it was not finished until near the end of the year 1815. It was erected on the west side of Thirteenth Street above Market Street. Its dimensions were fifty feet in width and sixty feet in length. It has been popularly called "The Vow Church," and "Margaret Duncan Church." The building was dedicated on November 26, 1815. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Maron Duncan, grandson of the founder.

In 1815 Rev. James Gray, D.D., was influential in the

<sup>1</sup> There is a tradition that in their dire extremity they agreed to determine by lot who should be sacrificed to keep the rest alive, and that the lot fell upon Mrs. Duncan. Sprague's *Annals*.

gathering of a church here which took the name of the Second Associate Reformed Church, and he became its first pastor. On May 21, 1821, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church were in session in Philadelphia. A committee of the Churches was appointed to consider the question of their union. This dual committee drew up four articles as a basis for the union. On May 23 these articles were adopted unanimously by the Presbyterian Assembly, and by the Associate Synod by a vote of thirteen in favor and three in opposition. In May, 1822, the Associate Synod, having had the subject before them for a year, and having discussed it for a considerable part of five days, ratified the plan of union; eight voting for it and five voting against it. Under this vote the Associate Synod placed its minutes and documents at the disposal of the Presbyterian Assembly.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of the union of the two bodies, the Second Associate Reformed Church was reorganized to conform to the Presbyterian forms and usages, and became the Ninth Presbyterian Church; and in June, 1822, it obtained a charter under that name. Rev. Thomas G. McInnes was made the first pastor of the church under its new name, and was seated on May 12, 1822, and continued in this relation until his death, on August 26, 1826. They continued to hold service in the building on Thirteenth Street.

Some of the members of the Second Associate Reformed Church did not approve of the union with the Presbyterians, asserting that the measure was carried into effect by unfair means. Continuing to act as a church, they claimed that by the terms of Mrs. Duncan's will the church building on Thirteenth Street belonged to them by right, and they sought the aid of the civil court to enforce their claims. The matter was in litigation for several years. As they failed at the time to secure what they regarded as their right, the church soon after went out of active existence.

In May, 1825, the Ninth Presbyterian Church gave a call

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Advocate*, 2 : 308.



to Mr. John Chambers, of Baltimore, to become their pastor. He had been engaged in business for some time and had received an education under the care of Rev. James Gray and Rev. John M. Duncan. He received license to preach from the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia in May, 1824. On the dissolution of that body in the same year he was received as a licentiate under the care of the Presbytery of Baltimore. He accepted the call of the church, and having procured a certificate of dismissal from the Presbytery in Baltimore, he entered on his work in Philadelphia on the second Sunday in May, 1825. During the summer of that year he prosecuted his work with great success, as evidenced by the large number of conversions.

In October of that year he attended the meeting of the Presbytery at Newtown to secure ordination as the pastor of this church, and presented the certificate from Baltimore and his call from the church in Philadelphia. In the course of his examination he was asked whether at the time of his licensure he subscribed to the confession of faith, and he answered that he did not. He was asked if he was then ready to subscribe to it, and he said he was not. He said the Westminster Standards teach that the Bible is the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and that he was satisfied with that. The Presbytery refused to ordain him, and voted that while he remained in his present position it would be improper for the church to employ him as their minister. It also declined to receive him under its care as a licentiate on the ground that he had not been constitutionally licensed, not having given an affirmative answer to the prescribed questions.

As soon as the Ninth Church learned of the action of the Presbytery, they, by a vote of four to one, declared themselves independent of all church courts, and took the name of the First Independent Church, and by a like vote decided to retain Mr. Chambers as their minister; and he continued his work with them. By the advice of clerical friends he went to New Haven, and on December 7, 1825, he was ordained by the New Haven West Association of Congregational ministers. His ordination was to the "ministry of the gospel,"

and not to the pastorate of the church in Philadelphia. He served that church for nearly half a century as an independent minister without installation; his only bond to it being his acceptance of the original call and the love of the people. He continued his work with great success, holding services in the building on Thirteenth Street. In January, 1831, the church took possession of the new building which had been erected at the northeast corner of Broad and Sansom Streets. Although this church changed its name in 1825, it maintained an unbroken organization until its reception into the Presbytery in 1873.

Upon the decision of the Ninth Church to retain Mr. Chambers as their minister, about a dozen of the members, who dissented from his theological views, withdrew from that body, and in 1825 declared themselves to be the true Ninth Presbyterian Church, and took action as such. They rented a schoolhouse at the corner of Juniper and Race Streets, which they occupied for some time as a place of worship. Later they occupied a hall in the Assembly Building at the southwest corner of Tenth and Chestnut Streets, and the hall of the hose company at the southwest corner of Tenth and Filbert Streets. After the First Independent Church moved to its new building on Broad Street the new organization transferred their services to the building on Thirteenth Street.

The uniting of the Synod of the Associate Reformed Church with the Presbyterian Assembly was disfavored by the great body of clerical and lay members of the Synod, particularly those in the west. In 1828 some of those in Philadelphia who opposed the union, and who adhered to the doctrines and usages in which they had been reared, began to plan for forming a new church of their own faith and order. With this view they held a meeting on October 4, 1830, at the Classical Institute, on Sansom Street above Eleventh Street, and constituted themselves a church with the name of Associate Reformed Church of Philadelphia. Later they occupied the lecture room of the Franklin Institute on Seventh Street.

They considered themselves the rightful ecclesiastical successors of those who erected the building on Thirteenth

Street, and took legal steps to enforce their claim. The matter was in litigation for several years. At length the question was amicably settled out of court. The Associate Church agreed to pay the Ninth Church the amount they had expended on the building, and the latter church yielded possession. They purchased a lot of ground at the northwest corner of Sixteenth and Sansom Streets, on which they erected a building which was dedicated on January 10, 1841.

The present Ninth Presbyterian Church properly began its existence with the formal organization of those who in 1825 withdrew from their former church fellowship.

ANCIENT DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS.  
TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE DELAWARE  
STATE.

PETITION No. 1.

The Petition of the Members of the Presbyterian Church at the Head of Christiana, in White Clay Creek Hundred in the County of Newcastle, in the said State—Humbly sheweth, that, Your Petitioners beg leave to represent to your Honours, the Difficulty they Labour under, in their present Situation, in regard to their said House of Worship. The Ground it stands upon, and the Ground which they occupy as burying Grounds or Grave Yards—by reason of the Manner in which the Deeds for the said Grave Yards, or burying Grounds are made, and the Danger they are in of being some day seized by some ill minded Person or Persons, and applied to other Uses than were Originally intended through the Death of Successive Trustees nominated in the Deeds of Conveyance from the Grantors; Notwithstanding their being the Repositories of the Dead & the places appointed to meet and worship God in— Your Petitioners beg leave also further to represent the disappointment they are liable to meet with, in their present Situation, from not being able to erect into a Fund or Stock the pious Donations of any well minded person or persons to said Presbyterian Church, and their not being in a Capacity to recover and oblige the Payment of the Same.

All which your Petitioners humbly apprehend your Honours, consistent with the Constitution or Frame of Government and Laws of this State, can relieve them in; by Incorporating the said Congregation at the Head of Christiana into a body Corporate and Politick, Capable of suing or being sued, and of holding Possession of their said Burying Grounds or Grave Yards, with their House of Worship on the same,

and the Liberty, Power and Authority of receiving Legacies, Donations or recovering Damages against any Persons trespassing on said Grounds or House under the usual Restrictions for the erecting, repaving & keeping in good Order the said Church & Burying Grounds or Grave Yards; & for the Support or Maintenance of regular Ministers of the Presbyterian denomination in the said Congregation. Your Petitioners therefore beg that your Honours will take the Premises into serious consideration and permit them to bring in a Bill to Incorporate said Congregation and provide for the safety and well being of said Church and Burying Grounds or Grave Yards as is needful & just.

And your Petitioners as in Duty bound will pray—

Newcastle County }  
May 2<sup>d</sup> 1786 }

John McCrery	James Anderson, Jr.	Alexander Wilson
John Alexander	Joseph Wallace	John Jonson
Isaac Johnson	Sam'l. Evans	Philip Wilson
George Gillespie	Sam'l. Wilson	James Jonson
John Reed	Thos. Rankin	William Adams
Thos. Jordan	William Price	John Simonton
Alex <sup>r</sup> . Thomson	John Scott	David Barr
James Anderson, Jr.	John Thomas	John Willson
Edward Weir	John Price	William Mitchel
William Scott	Wm. Maxwell	Thos. Phillips
William Devison	Benjamin Simpson	William Longwell
John Murphey	Sam'l Platt	
John Scott	Thos. Anderson	
Samuel Work	Alex <sup>r</sup> . McBeath	
John Waggoner	James Willson	
Thomas Scott	Obadiah Sergeant	
James Kerr	William Robinson	
D. Kirpatrick	Geo. Gillespie, Junr.	
Alexd <sup>r</sup> . Anderson	John Steel	
William Thomson	William Simpson	
William Scott	William Steel	

On the back of the paper:

“Petition Head of Xtiana Congregation.

In Council 2 June 1786.

Read—and referred.”

Copied from the original May 24, 1910, by Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, Dover, Delaware.

#### PETITION NO. 2.

To the Honorable the Representatives of the Delaware State in General Assembly met —

The Petition of the Members of the Presbyterian Congregation in Mill Creek Hundred & County of New Castle where the Reverend Mr. John M’Creary Officiates.

#### HUMBLY SHEWETH

That the first settlers & founders of this Congregation purchased two lotts of Ground, at different purchases & Periods; for the sole purpose of Appropriating them to the use of a place of Publick Worship, and did build and Erect thereon a Meeting House, & such other Improvements as were necessary for the like Intention: & for securing said Lots to the said Congregation, had Deeds of Conveyance made to Trustees therein named, & to descent to other Successive Trustees at the Demise or removal of the present then being; and so to be continued agreeable to a form in said Deeds, as long as a Society was kept up under that Denomination & within that District: But in process of time, through some Unhappy Circumstances the said Congregation or a Majority of them were under the Necessity to purchase another piece or lot of Ground about one Mile distant from the first above purchased lots, and did erect a new Meeting-House & other Improvements thereon, for the use of the same Society or Congregation, and which is in use at present for that Purpose, whereby

the Meeting-House on the first purchased lot became vacant and Decayed, although the Burying Ground on this, as well as the last purchased, are Occupied & used as Such, in common by the Congregation and that through Neglect or Inadvertance to Elect new Trustees, for the first purchases your Petitioners are Apprehensive the Titles are something defective; and that of the last in nearly the same predicament with the first; whereby they may be reduced to many Difficulties, at a future day, in holding & securing them from evil disposed persons. Your Petitioners beg leave further to observe that a small Additional piece of Ground was got by Deed of gift for the better Accomadation of the first purchased lots, and that the Deed is made in the same Tenor as the first, & subject to the same future Inconveniencies.

Your Petitioners beg leave further to Observe that Sundry Tresspasses have been committed on the first purchased Lots as well as that whereon the Meeting-House now stands by some thoughtless or ill disposed Persons, with Impunity, there being no Trustees or legal body to bring such Offenders to proper Punishment; Your Petitioners conceive it would be of great Advantage to the Congregation, to obtain an act of Assembly to amend the defects in the Titles of the first purchased Lots, and to prevent the like future Inconveniencies which may arise from any Neglect to Elect Trustees, in these and all the above mentioned Lots wherein Nine Trustees might be named to be elected annually in whose names the Congregation might be Impowered, as a body Corporate to commence Suits against Tresspassers on any of said Lots or Improvements, receive and Recover Legacies or donations, to the Amount of Moderate Sums over and above the Yearly Subscriptions to the Clergyman Officiating for the time being; & to manage and Conduct the Secular Affairs of said Congregation, as will be thought most conducive to their Advantage.

Your Petitioners therefore beg your Honorable House to take the Premises under Consideration & grant them leave to bring in a Bill to relieve and enable them to carry the

Premises into Execution; & they will as in Duty bound  
for ever pray. May 1786.

Jas. Latimer	Joseph Kinhead	Wm. McMechen
Jno. Beaty	William Armstrong	James Black
Wm. Robeson	James Gallaher	Robert Wallace
Alx <sup>r</sup> . Ogle	Samuel Crossan	Robert Boggs
Robt. Crighton	William Crossan	Henry Smith
	James Crossan	Robert Crawford
	Wm. Johnson	George Reynolds
	Moses McKnight	William Gallaher
	William Nivin	William Baton
	Jno. Walker	John Hamilton
		James Boggs
		Tho. Culbertson
		Robt. Culbertson
		Jeremiah Price (Rice)
		Solomon Price (Rice)
		David Montgomery
		William Montgomery
		David McMeehen

On the back of the paper:

“Petition White Clay Creek Congregation.

In Council 2<sup>d</sup> June, 1786.

Read, referred.”

Copied from the original May 24, 1910, by Rev. Joseph  
Brown Turner, Dover, Delaware.

To the *Honourable, the General Assembly of the Delaware*  
State, The Petition of

The united Congregations, or *Presbyterial Churches of Lewes,*  
*Coolspring, & Indian-River, in Sussex,*

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT these Churches have



long labour'd under considerable Difficulties, by Reason of a Want of a *legal Power* to recover & apply their own Property & having no Power, as Bodies in Law to obtain the common Justice enjoy'd by Individual Citizens. The ancient & once respectable Presbyterial Church at Lewes, has at different Times contain'd Men of the first Characters, as well as Estates in the County, who not only supported the Gospel while they lived, but left various & considerable Donations, for the same pious Purposes in their last Wills, some in Lands and others in Monies, yet so is the pious Designs of the honourable Donors frustrated by the Quibbles of Law, that out of all these, a Wall could not now be made to enclose their Mouldring Bones, or defend their Monuments from the Insults of the Beasts of the Field.

That these United Churches have also bought & paid for a small Plantation for a Glebe, to be some small Help to support Religion when we are gone, which yet without the Assistance of a Law, We find We cannot fully secure to the real Uses, We intended.

Infinitely far are your Petitioners from wishing for, or seeking any Establishment; We only petition for *common Justice*, that We may be enabled to raise, keep, or improve a very *small Pittance of property* for the support of these Churches, weakned by various Causes; to transmit Religion (which you know, is the only Bulwark of Civil Society, & good Government) entail'd to our Posterity.— Nor do We desire any Thing as peculiar to our Society; We think it would be a *great Public Good* & redound lasting Honour to your Honourable Legislative Body, if you would incorporate the *Vestries, & Sessions* of every Episcopal as well as Presbyterial Church in the State, to hold a small Estate for its Support, not exceeding Sixty Pounds annually, neat Profits; of if the Interests or Produce should exceed that Sum by the year, that the Overplus should be demanded by the Overseers of the Poor.

From these Premises & other Reasons that will occur to your Members, We have the highest Confidence in the *Wisdom & Justice of your honourable Houses* that you will grant

us a small Act of Assembly incorporating the Church Sessions, or any five Members of each Congregation, & their Successors for ever, to be chosen, rechosen, displac'd, or changed by the vote of the Congregation, or a Majority of Votes of the same at their Pleasure, to be a Body corporate & politic, to sue or be sued, to recover Debts, Dues & Legacies, to sell Lands, to build & repair their Churches & Burying Grounds; to put any Sum of Money to Interest in their Hands, & do every lawful Act for the sole Good & Advantage of their Congregation; as fully to all Intents & Purposes, as any Individual Citizen can dispose his own Property. Provided nevertheless that the neat *Interest, Proceeds, or Profits shall not exceed Sixty Pounds every year* to each Church, or Congregation, at any Time hereafter; tho' there is small prospect that it will ever arise to half that Sum:

And your Petitioners as in Duty Bound shall ever pray.

Sign'd by the Elders, Deacons & Managers of the Presbyterial Church at Lewes, December 22, A. D. 1782. } D. Hall, Jr.  
James Thompson

David Shankland }  
John Harmonson }  
Adam Hall } Signed by  
William Hall } order  
Samuel Hutson } D. Hall, Jr.  
Peter Marsh }

Joshua Hall	Simon Hall
Nicholas Little	Samuel Thompson
Peter White	Edward Craige
Jno. Drain	Henry Neill
Henry Killen	Thos. Marsh
Robert Shankland	John Orr
	Richard Green

At Cool-Spring, 10 br 29, 1782, sign'd by

Shepard Prettyman	Joseph Hall
Peter Harmonson	William Fisher
Marnix Virden	John Dutton
Andrew McIlvain	Emanuel Russel
David Stevenson	Jacob Notingham
Thos. Gray	John Stephenson
Robert Coulter	Wm. Coulter
Robert Hood	John Hopkins
William Wyatt	Cornelius Wilbank
James Vent	John S. Dorman
John Vent	
Clark Nottingham	

At Indian River, Jan. 5, A. D. 1783, Sign'd by

Joseph Waples	William Burcher
James Wilkens	Thomas Marvel
Robert Prettyman	Joseph West
Wm. Newbold	Robert Lacey
George Rider	Nehemiah Coffan
Samuel Carey	

On the back of the paper:

Jan. 14, 1783.

Petition to the Hon. Delaware Assembly, from the Sussex  
Presbyterial Churches.—

Read the first Time.

Copied from the original May 24, 1910, by Rev. Joseph  
Brown Turner, Dover, Delaware.

## JOURNAL OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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### EDITORIAL

Following the resignation of Dr. Benson, the Publication Committee announce that Dr. McCook has consented to act temporarily as editor of the JOURNAL. All communications should therefore be addressed to him; or simply to "Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia."

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### HISTORY AS AN EVIDENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

We justly speak of history as a science. Like all sciences, it is based upon experience. The common application of the experiences of history is to the outer and visible results of religious movements in and upon society. But there is another use of the word which applies to and precedes, and indeed is the spring of the outward effects of religion upon individuals and society. We speak of this as the *personal experience* of religion.

"Experimental religion" is a term which has a large current use. Perhaps this has been and is abused. Men have attributed to it the vagaries of excited emotions; the wild impulses of heated and deluded imaginations; perhaps the in-breathings of deluding spirits who don the disguises of truth to deceive, if possible, the very elect. But, after all, the only Christian religion that can be held to be the real thing is experimental. It is the soul's experience of the power and presence of God.

The outward testimony to that inward and spiritual fact is the evangelical history of Christian converts. The four Gospels of the New Testament, the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and in a goodly measure the Epistles also, give an inspired relation of these experiences as wrought and known

and communicated during the foundation age of Christianity. They form a true scientific basis for our faith in Christianity; a basis that rests upon experiences—convictions issuing from spiritual experiments wrought within the personal disciples and early followers of Jesus Christ as the Saviour of men, by the Holy Spirit of God.

But, conclusive as they are, they do not stand alone. From those initial ages, down through all succeeding time, there have been many—nay, an innumerable company of men and women, who have testified, often with their lives, that they have experimented with the great spiritual truths of Christianity, and found them real.

This is a most noteworthy fact in history. No fact is better attested. An unbroken series of religious experiences and authentic records of the same reaches from the day of Jesus Christ and his apostles, down to the present hour. It has increased in volume and distinctness as the years have waxed. And to-day there is a great company whom no man can number, of witnesses (*μαρτυρες*, martyrs) and confessors, found in every land, who in every language that human intellects have devised, can rise up, and do continually rise up to testify of the verity of Christianity as a saving power—it having *saved themselves!*

There is from this a deduction which well may give confidence and repose to professors and possessors of the spiritual religion of the Christ. In the face of all doubts and doubters, in reply to all arguments of scepticism and suggestions of unbelief, such persons can appeal with confidence to their experience of the inward work of Christ upon their own spirits and lives. Like the blind man in the gospel history (John 9: 25) they can say, "One thing I know, whereas I was blind, now I see!" No stronger proof than this could be acquired; no stronger need be desired. It has all the power and efficiency of scientific evidence. It is scientific evidence. And no questionings of a "science falsely so called" should be suffered for a moment to shake the souls of those who can say with the Apostle Peter (John 6: 69), "*We have believed and are sure that Thou art the Holy One of God.*"

## HISTORY AS A SAVING ELEMENT IN SOCIETY.

History is the embodiment in literature of the experiences of nations, races and individuals. Ecclesiastical history, in its broadest sense, is the record of the progress and development of the Church of Christ throughout the ages. In its more limited sense, as continually used by the constituency of the "Presbyterian Historical Society," the term covers the story of the rise and growth and relations to religion and to various governments, and to society at large, of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of the world.

This is in itself an immense field, touching upon some of the most interesting and influential periods and incidents in the progress of the human race, especially during the last four hundred years.

It need hardly be said that its study demands the most intelligent and painstaking labor and care. It calls for a corresponding possession and use of all the resources that the modern student requires. These resources can only be acquired by a large expenditure of money, time and labor. The two last named elements of the three, *viz., time and labor*, the devoted students of ecclesiastical history may be in a position to give. The first, namely the *money*, they have also been compelled to supply, or see the work undone, as the writer hereof knows, often by the exercise of the utmost self-denial. To those intelligent and pious persons who are not so circumstanced as to be able to bestow special time and labor upon historic studies, there should come a strong appeal to bear their share of the great responsibility and burden, by giving their *money* to this organization and similar ones, that the great and wholesome lessons of church history may not be lost to the world. This is but a fair division of the duties to which Christian women and men are called in fulfillment of their obligations to disseminate truth and advance the highest interests of humanity.

How large a part the divine spirit of inspiration has assigned to history in this work of saving enlightenment of our race one may learn by turning to his Bible. The historic

element, in both Old and New Testaments, decidedly predominates.

Now, the fundamental principles upon which God's work of human redemption and elevation is wrought, are always essentially the same. No changes in conditions can change these. The methods of application may indeed vary with the varying conditions of individuals and society. But amid all these the fact remains that a knowledge of God's ways of dealing with men, in other words—*history*, is an *effective element in the saving teaching of society*.

That is just as true to-day as it ever was. God has as surely been present in the world during the last four centuries as in the preceding ages; and to trace His footsteps is an act of true piety.

To make known the results of such research is a veritable, even though it be not an "inspired," revelation of God and His providential dealings with men.

The encouragement of such service by gifts of money, time and influence is an act of piety and philanthropy which deserves to rank highly among the worthy deeds to which the charitable may be recommended.

#### THE SUPPLY OF MINISTERS AND THE FOREIGN MISSIONS REVIVAL.

The supply of competent ministers for our churches has always been a matter of high concern to their leading minds. And rightly so. The rule is almost invariable "like minister, like people." It seems reasonable that the Church should look to families of the learned, the cultivated and the well-to-do for those who will take the place of teachers and leaders of the people. It must be counted as a reproach that this is not the case far more than it is; and it is a question that Christian people of that standing in society should seriously consider; and in their hopes and plans devote one son at least to the ministry.

Yet, when one appeals to history, he finds, in point of fact, that the ministers of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches

and it seems to be so generally true in the Christian Church of all Communion as to have the force of a universal law—are drawn from the humbler families of the church, or from the ranks of the ministry itself. Always it has been true “not many mighty are called.” Our Lord’s apostles were drawn from the humbler families of Israel. St. Paul was perhaps the most conspicuous exception. This is well. As long as the source of our ministerial supply lies in the bosoms of the people, we may be assured of two things—*first*, that the supply will not be likely to fail; and *second*, that it will be less likely to lose its touch with the great bulk of the common people who in our own day, as in our Saviour’s, have heard the Gospel message gladly. The subject of ministerial supply receives enlarged importance from the present prospects of world evangelization. The church has long been praying and working for the spiritual revival of heathendom. It almost seems, as one casts his eyes over the nations, that the sought for day is at hand. The whole horizon glows with the signs of a coming day of the Lord. The fields seem ripe for the harvest. Are the harvesters ready? Can the church supply the demand? Will she fail in the very face of the apparent answer of God to her prayers? It is a serious question. How will we meet it? How *can* we meet it?

The historic position of our Reformed and Presbyterian churches favors an educated ministry. This implies and requires a long season of training in the schools. Are we to abandon this, and fall back, as Wesley did, for the exigencies of his great religious revival, upon men of spiritual gifts alone; or at least men without special training? That this can be done, the history of the Methodist Church and, in our own bounds, of the great Cumberland revival abundantly shows.

But there need be no departure from our wise and long approved policy of an educated and specially trained ministry if *at once* the church shall awake to the situation and gird herself to meet it with a greatly enlarged supply of especially trained ministers for service in mission fields.

Will the church awake? And *at once*?



## EDITORIAL NOTES

With the New Year that so soon shall be upon us, THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY would like to enter upon a new and much enlarged sphere of service to the several Churches which it represents. The wish is strong, the will is good, the opportunity is inviting; but the ability is wanting. If the membership of the society could be increased to *one thousand*, the increased dues derived therefrom would suffice to enable the council of the society to undertake and carry out schemes which would largely increase its usefulness. Of course, a large endowment would accomplish the same result. But that we do not possess. We still await the movement of that spirit of wisdom and grace upon the hearts and minds of the intelligent and liberal men and women of the churches which will put The Presbyterian Historical Society upon a footing in some degree commensurate with secular organizations of like character and aims.

Awaiting that time, however, as we cannot appeal to the State, as secular societies do; and as the official demands made upon the churches are so numerous and pressing, we must trust to that silent influence which, proceeding from the society's public work and service, and the active interest of its officers and members, gradually percolates through the community and reaches effectively those who are so circumstanced as to respond favorably to our society's aspirations for higher usefulness.

**Ancient Documents and Records.**—We have received from the Rev. Joseph Brown Turner copies of several documents of the eighteenth century (1782-1786), which we publish as having historical value. The originals were found by Doctor Turner in a pile of old papers in the State House at Dover, Delaware. They are in the form of petitions addressed to

the State legislature. They are valuable, not only because they give some insight of the special difficulties which beset our early churches, but because of the record of names of members of the congregations at the period—about the close of the Revolutionary War.

The petitions from the "Head of Christiana" and "White Clay Creek" churches are particularly valuable, because those churches have no early records, and these papers help to identify their membership. Such documents are usually counted as "dry-as-dust" material by ordinary readers, but to the serious student of history they have an interest which justifies them in going through the details of distant and seemingly unimportant incidents, and the verbiage of legal documents, as the placer miner sifts out the grains of black sand from his pan, for the sake of the particles of gold therein. For these old and musty papers yield the very atmosphere of the period in which they were written, and aid in disclosing the environment of place and time, so needful to the just interpretation of history.

Moreover, their record of names is often like the trail of wild game in the woods, which enables the keen hunter of historic facts to trace the identity and locality of individuals, to verify dates, and otherwise contribute to the truthfulness of history. The publication of such material is one of the worthy functions of the JOURNAL, and we therefore welcome such material to our columns, and invite friends to contribute such freely.

**The following note is sent by the society's excellent friend, the Rev. Prof. J. I. Good, D.D.:**

The following facts about a photograph recently given to The Presbyterian Historical Society may be of interest to the readers of the JOURNAL. The picture is named "Knox Disputing with the Soldiers."

About five years ago, the writer happened to be in that art center, Munich, Germany, and in looking over the catalogue of paintings in the New Pinacothek at Munich, he found one named as above. He went to the New Pinacothek, but

learned that the picture was not there any more. At a later visit, about two years ago, he determined to find out where the painting was and get, if possible, a copy for our Historical Society. After repeated inquiries at the New Pinacothek, where it formerly was, he learned that the painting had been sold and bought by a wealthy resident of Munich and presented to the University of Wurzburg. The writer then wrote to the University of Wurzburg and promptly received a reply that the painting was there. He ordered a photograph to be made of it, which he had enlarged and given to The Presbyterian Historical Society.

We have been somewhat puzzled as to the time of Knox's life to which the picture may refer. But we believe that we have recently found it in "John Knox," by Brown (p. 84), where the author thus writes: "Repeated efforts were made (by the Roman Catholics) to bring all of them (the galley slaves, Knox among them) back to the true faith: but with Knox in their midst the task was not so easy as it might otherwise have been. Mass was said on stated occasions both in the galley and on the shore, but the Scots would give none of the signs of true worshipers. On Saturday nights, when the *Salve Regina* was sung, to a man they deliberately covered their heads with their caps or hoods or whatever else would serve the purpose." An incident in this connection is related by Knox, of which we cannot doubt he was himself the hero. As the anecdote would lose half the point in any words but his own, we let him speak for himself: "Soone after the arrivall at Nances (Nantes), thare great *Salve* was song and a glorious painted Lady was brought in to be kissed and amongis otheris, was presented to one of the Scotchmen then cheyned. He gentillye said 'Truble me nott: such ane idole is accursed: and theirfor I will not tuich it.' The Patron and the Arguesyn with two officeris, having the cheaf charge of all such materis, said, 'Thou sall handill it,' and so thei violentlie thrust it to his face and putt it betuix his handis: who seeing the extremitie, tooke the idole and advisitlie looking about, he caist it in the rivare and said 'Lett our Lady now saif hir self: sche is lycht aneuch: lett hir learne to

swyme!' After that was no Scottish man urged with that idolatrie."

**Our Churches**, in several of their constituencies, have reached a period where a number of its congregations are holding centennial commemorations. A few of those in the older communities, with a colonial history back of them, have had bicentennial celebrations. We express the wish for this society that due notice of all these services be sent to our headquarters in the Witherspoon Building. A brief statement or condensed report of the same should also be sent for publication in the society's JOURNAL, when practicable, or for preservation in our archives for reference and use by future students of Presbyterian and Reformed history in America.

**The Index of the Journal** for the last year appears in this number, and for students of church history will prove the most valuable part of its contents. For its preparation the society is indebted to its able and intelligent secretary, Miss Helen B. Porter, the Clerk of Council and Assistant to the Librarian.

**The Rev. Frederic R. Brace, D.D.**, one of the most faithful and efficient members of this society, and long one of its counselors, departed this life on May 5, 1910. The funeral services were held in the Presbyterian Church of Blackwood, N. J., on Saturday May 7, following.

**The fifty-eighth anniversary** of the Presbyterian Historical Society was observed on November 20, 1910, in Christ Reformed Church (German), Green Street below Sixteenth, Philadelphia. Rev. Dr. James Crawford the pastor of the church and a vice president of the society conducted the worship; Dr. McCook, the President of the society, presided, and briefly announced the preacher of the day, the Rev. T. F. Herman, Professor of systematic theology in the German Reformed Theological Seminary at Lancaster, Pa.

**A Commemorative Dinner**, to mark the occupancy of the new buildings of the Union Theological Seminary in the city of New York, was given at the Waldorf-Astoria by the president and directors on the evening of November 29, A. D. 1910.

**The Presbyterian Historical Society** gave a reception to Moderator and Mrs. Little on the afternoon of November 29, 1910. The beautiful parlors and museum and library rooms of the Society were well filled by members and their friends of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches from 3 to 4 P. M. At 4 P. M., the company passed into the museum and listened to an admirable paper which was presented by Moderator Charles Little at the request and under the auspices of the Meetings Committee of the Society, Dr. Wm. H. Oxtoby, Chairman. The paper was a biographical study of the Little family in the United States, especially in the Presbyterian Church, and will be printed in the next number of the JOURNAL of the Society.

## RECORD OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY.

*PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE OZARKS. A History of the Work of the Various Branches of the Presbyterian Church in Southwest Missouri, 1834-1907, by E. E. Stringfield, Ph.D., Stated Clerk of the Presbytery of Ozark, U. S. A. Map and Illustrations. Introduction by John B. Hill, D.D., with an Appendix Containing Occasional Addresses. Published at the request of the Presbytery of Ozark, U. S. A., 1909. N. p. 8vo., pp. 144. Cloth.*

Thirty-six years ago, the writer, with a small party, made a fishing trip through the Ozark Mountains of southwestern Missouri. Col. Sheppard, a ruling elder of Calvary Church, Springfield, Mo., was the head of the party, and with him were his pastor, Dr. C. H. Dunlap; Gen. E. Anson More, of St. Louis, and one or two more guests, including this reviewer.

Three batteaux were carted across country from Springfield, and from our first camp on Wilson Creek, near the battlefield of that name, we launched our boats, floated and polled down the Ozark River (fishing en route) to its junction with the White River in Arkansas. The course wound through the Ozark Mountains, and our various stops brought us in contact with the inhabitants of the region. They were a rude, manly, primitive folk, in the early stages of society, much retarded by the ravages of the late War for the Union. Most of the people we met seemed to be Unionist—or “Unioners”—in their sympathies; but there were those who espoused the secessionist cause; and some gruesome tales were told us of the local feuds and killings that resulted from this political division.

On one Sunday we summoned the people of the section to a religious service in a log schoolhouse on the mountain side, at the mouth of the Ozark, and a second service was held on the open mountain. This gave us opportunity to look into the faces of the people, and form some idea of their character and social condition and spiritual necessities. On the outskirts of the audience was a tall, sturdy man in homespun jeans, with a saddlebag over one arm and a horse hitched in the brush close by him. He proved to be a Baptist preacher. His whole income for his ministerial services, he told us, had been less than two dollars for the entire year past. But he kept at it, for the love of Christ

and the good of souls. When he learned that we were Presbyterians, he begged earnestly that we would visit him at his farm on the other side of the White. His wife was a staunch Presbyterian, he said, and had never seen a minister of her denomination in that country. But she still stuck to the "Shorter Catechiz and made the youngsters toe the mark, an' say it to her by times; an' she'd be proud to have them say it to you uns, if you'd call, an' show you how well they'd larnt it."

Much to our regret, we could not manage to make this visit; but if this backwoods preacher and his wife are a fair sample of the sort of people that make up the scattered flock of Christ in the Ozarks, they certainly were worth looking after; and the story of their ingathering was well worth recording. Though nearly forty years have passed since that summer journey, the impression made by it has never faded out, and when Dr. Stringfield's book, "Presbyterianism in the Ozarks," was put in our hands for review, that impression vividly revived. This incident has lent peculiar zest to the reading of the book.

Dr. Stringfield has wrought an extremely difficult task in an admirable way, and has given to the Church a record that in all the future must be turned to for detailed and accurate account of the religious development of southwestern Missouri. He combines with the historic instinct of the genuine historian for essential facts an agreeable and sprightly style that can breathe animation into seemingly dry details. He begins his treatise with a general view of the field, and the origin and progress of our Church's work therein, and then takes up in detail the record of the individual churches and missionary and pastoral laborers therein. He does not forget the faithful and efficient female workers who, as the wives of ministers and ruling elders, and members of the churches, wrought so effectually in the planting and upbuilding of Christ's kingdom. It is a commentary upon the rapid evolution of social and ecclesiastical life upon the western regions of our lands, that the original pioneers of the Ozarks were *foreign missionaries*! That is, they were then representatives of the "United Foreign Mission Society," sent out in 1819 to the Osage Indians. The first expedition, most of it made in keel boats, took longer to reach its field of labor than is now required to go to such distant stations as China, Korea and Japan. Such a history as this is full of inspiration to the Church at large to sustain and enlarge the plans of our Home Board. Here, as in a moving-picture show, we see the work and the workers, and the actual field of their sacred toil for Christ's kingdom. Not least important is Part II of Dr. Stringfield's book, which embraces the late "Cumberland Presbyterian Church," which was largely represented in the Ozarks. This book has been privately published, but copies can be had (\$1.25, postpaid) from the Rev. Dr. E. E. Stringfield, Springfield, Mo.

*WHAT THE DUTCH HAVE DONE IN THE WEST OF  
THE UNITED STATES. By George Ford Huiringa.  
Philadelphia. Privately printed, 1909.*

This admirable historical paper is the result of a series of three prizes offered to the students and alumni of Hope College at Holland, Michigan, by Edward Bok, of Philadelphia, the well-known editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and himself a child of the Netherlands immigration. It tells in a clear and condensed form the origin and development of recent Dutch settlements in the western United States. It seems highly anomalous that this migration should have been the direct consequence of a spirit of religious intolerance, and even "persecution," by citizens of that "Dutch Republic" founded by William the Silent, which Motley has made familiar to American readers of European history. Yet so it was. The spirit of reckless free-thinking and dead formalism which sprang up in the wake of the establishment of the State Church in the Netherlands in 1816, produced as a wholesome reactionary protest a secession Reformed Church. Its members were so harassed and harried, that in 1846 a movement was started looking to freedom of faith and worship and social development under freer conditions. The leader was a young minister of the Secession, Albertus Christiaan Van Raalte, who settled in southern Ottawa County, Michigan, between the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers. The leader's reasons for choosing this site for a colony show his farsighted statesmanship. He knew that the country near Lake Michigan was protected from severe frosts, and was preëminently a region for fruit. It, moreover, had that variety of surface, with considerable streams, that afforded opportunity for the development of manufactures and mills, with promise of varied occupation for large numbers. At that period—more than sixty years ago—the region was substantially in the pioneer stage; yet so little did these Dutch colonists know of the simplest methods of the settler that they had to call to their aid some American pioneers to teach them such simple arts of the forester as chopping down and cutting up trees, building log houses, making roads, etc. Their settlement was made close to a band of Ottawa Indians, and their first headquarters was pitched in an old Indian church. In their ignorance of the English language, and the absence of local organization of county and township, they fell back upon the primitive instincts of society, and organized the heads of families into a communal government which they called the "Volksvergadering." This wrought with admirable efficiency under the wise, pure, unselfish strong and kindly administration of their ministers and the early colonists. One extremely hot American summer, following the severe northern winter, combined with the hardships of their new life, brought on a wasting epidemic, which resulted in many deaths. These conditions were met in a spirit of heroic faith



and practical charity. An orphan house was built to receive and care for the numerous children who had lost their parents. This building eventually became the nucleus of "Hope College."

One who reads this too brief history cannot fail to recall the early days of the English Puritans in New England. He sees these Dutch Puritans coming out of their Michigan forest settlements, worn, tired and discouraged, on a Sabbath day, to worship with and listen to the venerable pastor, Van Der Meulen, the able and faithful colaborer with Dr. Van Raalte, whose ministrations put into his weary and low-hearted hearers new courage and hope for the burdens of another week. From these beginnings, the modern Dutch migration has spread until now considerably more than a hundred thousand are to be found scattered throughout the Union—chiefly in the Western States. As the Reformed Churches form an important part of the constituency of this Presbyterian Historical Society, this record of an important movement in their midst is reviewed with especial interest. The editor of the JOURNAL is pleased to express his thanks for this publication to the author, and to Mr. Bok, through whose intelligent appreciation, liberality and zeal it has been given to the public. The title-page bears the name of no publisher from whom the booklet may be purchased, but doubtless a letter to Mr. Edward Bok, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, Philadelphia, would receive attention.

**MAKEMIELAND MEMORIALS; With Eastern Wild Flowers and Other Wild Things.** By Rev. L. P. Bowen, D.D., Author of *the Days of Makemie, The Old Preacher's Story, The Daughters of the Covenant, etc.* Pp. 205. Whittet and Shepperson, Printer, Richmond, Va.

This volume, by the venerable pastor of "Rehoboth," the oldest Presbyterian church in the United States, appears with prefatory "Appreciation" by that able and devoted son of the Church, and loving friend of her "Eastern Shore" brood of ecclesiastical children, John S. McMaster, Esq., of Jersey City, N. J. It contains the address of Dr. Bowen made at the dedication ceremonies of the Makemie monument, erected by the Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia), in the private burying ground of Francis Makemie on Holden Creek, Accomac County, Va. This address was published, shortly after the dedication ceremonies, in the JOURNAL of the Society, but many will doubtless be gratified at its publication in book form. An excellent phototype likeness of the venerable author, also of the Makemie monument, and the "mother church" substantially as erected by Makemie at Rehoboth, Maryland, appear as illustrations.

The "Wild Flowers and Other Wild Things," of the title-page, refer to a collection of verses written at sundry times by Dr. Bowen. They

have a strong local and personal flavor, and the aged poet's lyre gives forth no uncertain sound in the matter of loyalty to the historic Church of the Presbyterian fathers. The "Blue Banner of the Covenant" waves all through them.

*MINUTES of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. June, 1910. Published in Belfast, Ireland.*

These minutes give an interesting account of the Irish Church, and are evidence of the temporal and spiritual progress which it is enjoying. The General Assembly now meets in the Church House in Belfast, which contains rooms and halls for every church purpose, and is the finest ecclesiastical structure possessed by any Presbyterian Church. The membership of the Church is 106,481, from 85,779 families; the congregations number 568 and the ministers 654; there are 94,728 Sunday-school scholars and 8,126 teachers. The total amount raised during the year was £1,241,484, which includes the interest from investments as well as the gifts of congregations and individuals for religious and benevolent objects.

There are some matters in the minutes which are worthy of mention, especially as several of them, owing to the state of affairs in Ireland, differ from the action of the churches in America. The Synods and Presbyteries send brief reports of their transactions to the Assembly, and are careful to forward the names of congregations who fail to take up all the appointed collections. The deaths of ministers with an account of their services are reported by the clerk, and it appears that their term of service reached the average of forty-three and a half years. The Rev. H. C. Minton, D.D., represented the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and by a "forcible and inspiring address" secured the coöperation of the Irish Church in the movement for a world-wide evangelization. The committee on licentiates and vacant churches had done efficient work in securing the settlement of ministers in churches, and securing work for men who were without charge. An Old Age Fund is in operation, which makes provision for the respectable poor members of the Church who have no adequate means of support. In order to raise the allowance of retired ministers from about £70 to £100 a year a fund has been started with every prospect of success.

An Education Board has been organized to raise money in order to secure for the children of the Church a better elementary and academic training, and to enable the more gifted to enter college. The national system of education, supported by the British Government, is based on the principle of united secular and separate religious instruction. Many of the "national schools" are under Presbyterian management, and in

all the schools the various religious denominations impart religious instruction to the children after school hours, and conduct regular examinations. The government does not give Ireland its fair share of the appropriation for education, and in consequence the teachers are not paid sufficient salaries, and the schools are not as well equipped and comfortable as they should be. The Assembly found it necessary to protest against the introduction of religious pictures and statues into certain convent schools where the Protestant children were in a small minority.

The establishment of Young People's Guilds for intellectual and religious culture goes on apace, and four hundred young people had been examined on their studies in missionary and biblical courses. The work of temperance is vigorously prosecuted, and it is satisfactory to learn that the drink bill of Ireland is steadily decreasing. The "Catch-my-pal" movement (which means that men who have ceased to drink influence their companions to become total abstainers) has already influenced and captured one hundred thousand men. The Social Service Committee maintains homes for soldiers and sailors in which they are provided with social entertainment and religious training. The Church is now providing for the education of deaconesses to carry on religious and social work, and has set some ladies apart to the office in a prescribed public service. The Assembly is providing assistants for the weaker congregations in the larger towns, and their labors among the poor and non-church going population are productive of most encouraging results. Steps are taken to unite weak congregations; grants are made to support music classes, to cultivate better singing, and a missionary is employed to minister to the deaf and dumb. The Orphan Society provided for over thirty-four hundred needy orphans at a cost of about £14,000, which means that each child was maintained and educated for about £4 per annum. The system adopted of placing the children in families instead of in orphanages has proved not only economical but is wisely adapted to prepare them for a useful life. In addition to carrying on missions in Ireland and on the continent of Europe, the Church prosecutes with vigor important missions in India and China. In the latter countries over fifteen hundred home and native agents are employed, engaged in educational, medical, evangelistic and pastoral work. Twenty-five stations are occupied; at these there are thirteen hundred communicants, nearly four thousand Sunday scholars, seven thousand day scholars and the expenditure amounts to £20,000. It is reported that these missions are prosperous, and are exercising an increasing influence on the natives of India and China.

The relations between the Protestant Churches in Ireland are becoming close and cordial, and they are coöperating to provide the bigoted Roman Catholic population with the truth of the Gospel. The Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches have appointed committees to suggest plans by which they can work together for the religious wel-

fare of the country. One of the signs of the times is the recent declaration of a learned bishop, that his church must recognize the validity of Presbyterian orders, and inaugurate the exchange of pulpits on equal terms, as an imperative condition of union with the Presbyterian Church.

The members of our Historical Society will learn with pleasure that the Historical Society of the Irish Church is prospering, is gathering a large collection of historical material, and is clamoring for more room in the Church house. Among their recent acquisitions is a famous collection of communicants' tokens, a collection of psalters, and minutes of sessions dating from 1678 and onwards. The historical exhibition held during the meetings of Assembly attracted a large number of visitors, and secured a wider interest in the Society. A committee of the Assembly gave a report on the progress and needs of the Society, and the Assembly made a substantial grant to the committee to carry on its work.

It may be added that the Irish Church is alive to religious needs and changing conditions of society, and is meeting these with courage and sacrificing labors. The ministers are well educated, are able and faithful preachers of evangelical truth, and are loyal to the word of God which "makes us wise unto salvation."

J. H. MUNRO.



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